

# THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

## PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

## PART 2

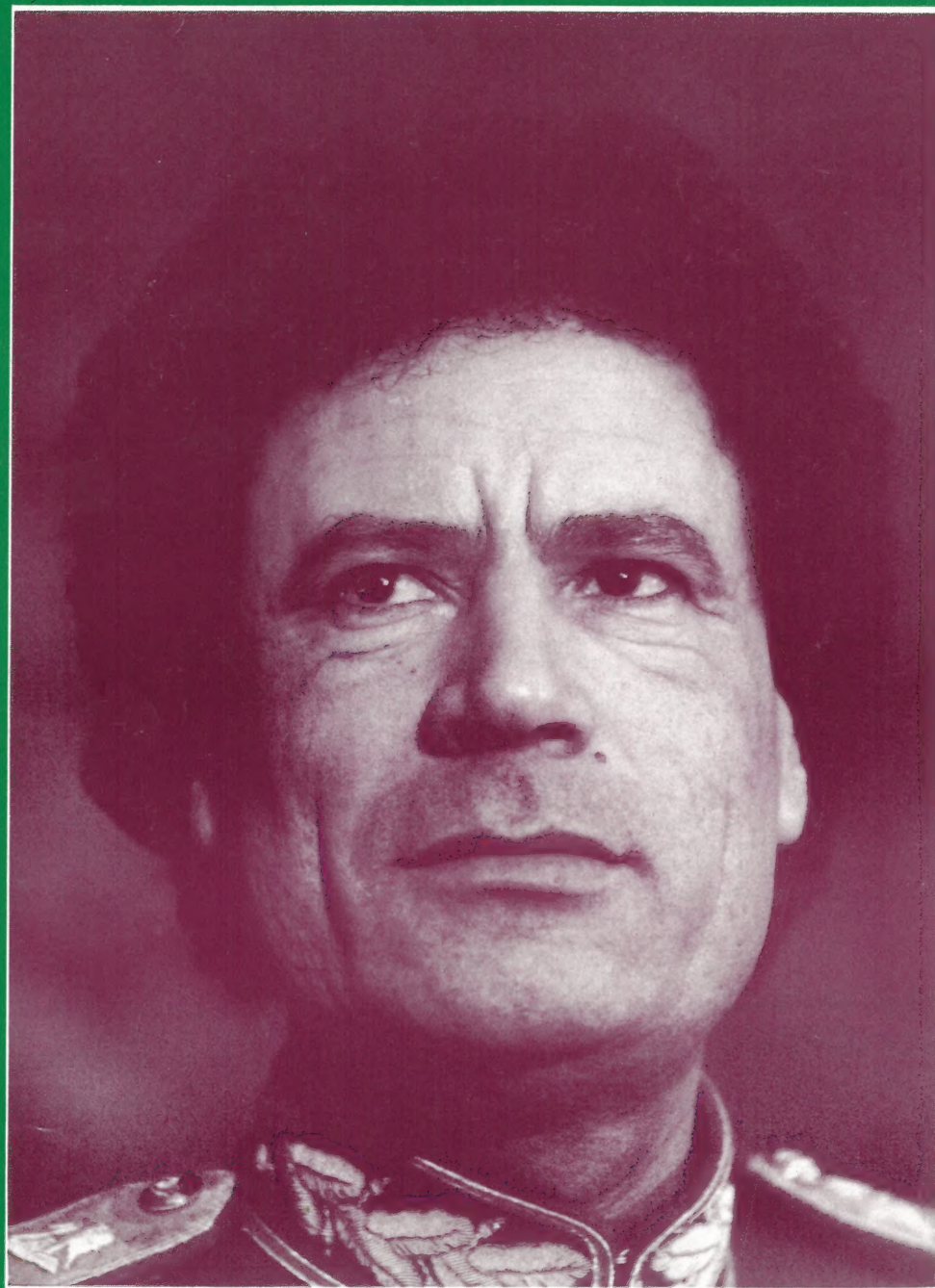
The solution of the Economic Problem

## PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.



Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

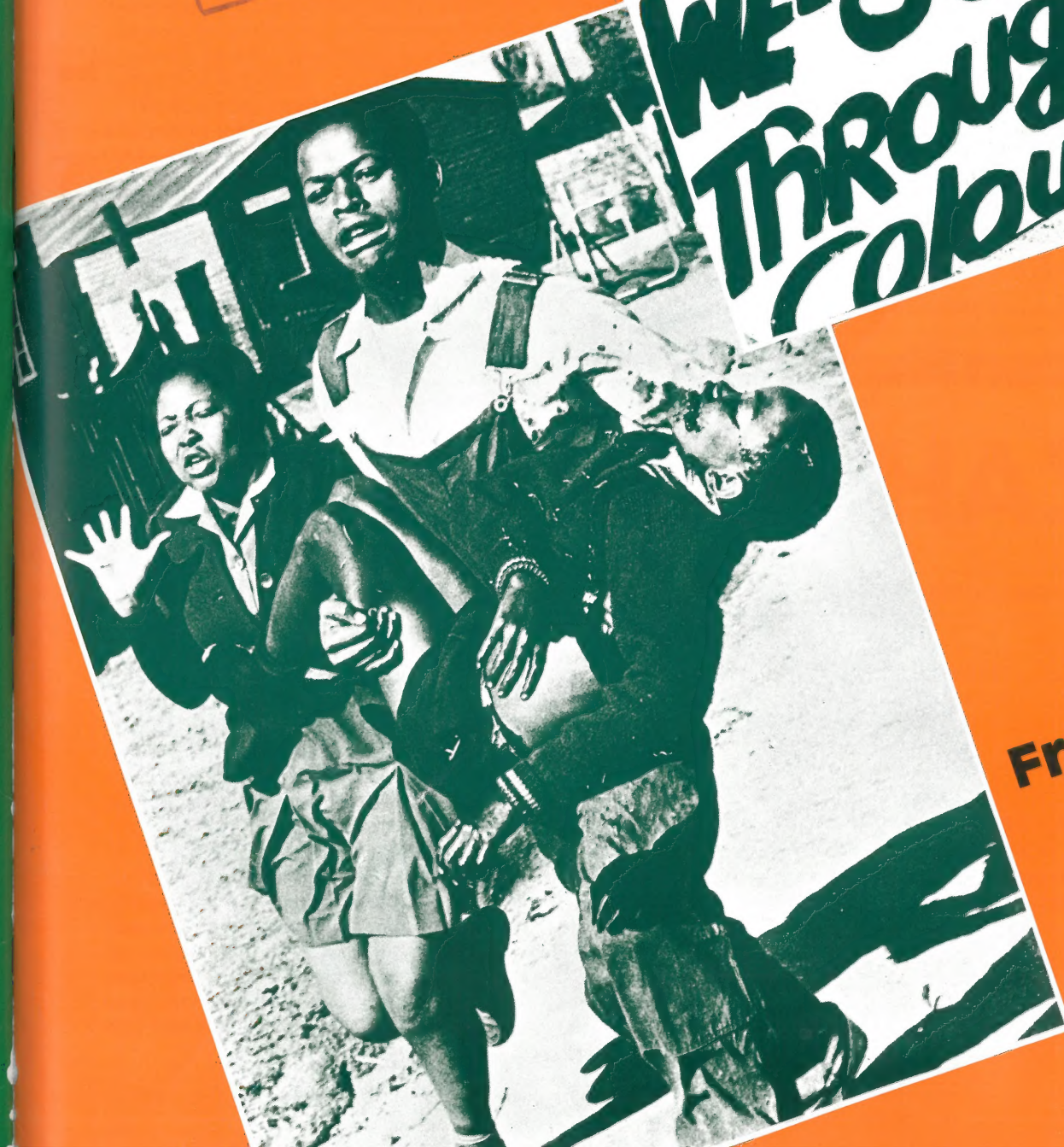
# jamahiriya review

December 1982 50p

New moves to strengthen Anglo-Libyan ties

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Why Should WE-SUFFER THROUGH COLOUR BAN



Tripoli summit: Front line in the battle for Africa





# jamahiriya review

No 31

December 1982

□ **AFRICAN SUMMIT:** As African leaders arrived in the Libyan capital for their second attempt to stage the Organisation of African Unity's 19th summit, Tripoli became the focus of an intense battle between regimes subservient to France and the United States, and those committed to African independence from colonialism. This issue includes a special extended report covering the issues involved, and the conflicting forces which faced each other in Tripoli.

The five page review begins on page 9, with an analysis of the Western efforts to undermine the OAU, and block the summit being held in Libya.

In a separate report, a special correspondent examines the priorities for Africa outlined in a keynote speech delivered by the Libyan leader, Muammer Qadhafi.

Despite the setbacks experienced, African leaders did reach agreement on issues such as southern Africa, and Namibia, details of which are given in summary, while a final section of the report examines the economic crisis facing Africa.

□ **UK REPORT:** During recent weeks members of the People's Committee at the Libyan People's Bureau in London have been visiting British companies engaged in development projects in the Jamahiriya, together with the Centre for Middle East Studies at Durham University. A report appears on page 17.

□ **DEMOCRACY IN LIBYA:** As the General People's Congress prepares to meet in Tripoli during January, this issue examines the political system which is the basis of people's democracy in the Libyan Jamahiriya, and explains the role which Basic People's Congresses play to ensure that every Libyan has the opportunity to influence the policies of the country. See page 14.

□ **CARING FOR THE DISABLED:** Provision of facilities for the disabled is one of the many achievements of the Libyan Revolution. Dr Alan George, in a report published on page 15, examines the progress in this field, and explains how the Jamahiriya's involvement in the Second World War has contributed to the problem which the country now faces.

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# The Green March

# الزحف الاخضر

# AL-ZAHF AL-AKHHDAR

THE WEEKLY IDEOLOGICAL JOURNAL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES

**AL-ZAHF AL-AKHHDAR** — the first newspaper in the history of the Arab and international press not owned by an individual, government or any tools of exploitation; the ideological weekly journal of the Revolutionary Committees, supporting the cause of freedom everywhere and fighting exploitation of the masses.

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## Saboteurs in Africa

AS AFRICAN leaders departed from Tripoli at the end of a second abortive attempt to convene a summit of the Organisation of African Unity, the continent stood poised on the brink of a crisis. If it is to be overcome, determination and commitment is required, no less great than that necessary to prise open the grasp of colonialism and open the way for political independence of the African nations during the 1950s and 1960s.

If sabotaging the Tripoli summit was a victory for France and the United States, the taste of success may be short-lived. In fact, the determination with which Washington and Paris have set about ensuring that the Tripoli summit did not take place will have served Africa well, if it forces Africa's leaders to come to terms with the reality of the new imperialism now threatening the continent.

As the political powers came to realise, as Harold MacMillan described it, 'the wind of change' was sweeping across Africa, and movements of national liberation could not be simply put down by force of arms, their strategy turned to ensuring that a new African leadership would emerge under the façade of independence. These were to be the surrogate leaders, ready to permit the continued economic exploitation and control of the continent by the former colonial powers, and the new economic imperialists such as the United States. In reality, a new flag was run up, a new national anthem composed, a new face put in government house, but little else changed.

There were, and still are, a small number of true African leaders, who recognised the need for fundamental change. Nkrumah, Nyerere, and Mugabe, and second generation leaders like Nasser who overthrew the surrogate leaders, for example, who continued to battle to make 'independence' achieve a meaning beyond the façade of nominal political independence.

The OAU's decision to stage the 19th summit in Libya caused great concern in Washington and Paris, the capitals of two powers involved in the exploitation of Africa. If the summit were to take place, the Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi would have become Chairman, and spokesman for Africa for the next year. But in Qadhafi, the United States and France, along with their surrogate leaders in Africa, see the leadership of a revolutionary force totally committed to ending foreign, non-African control over the developing nations of Africa. He is committed to ending the colonial, and racist domination of southern Africa, and to liberation for South Africa and Namibia. He advocates an end to all foreign military bases on African territory. He is opposed to continued economic exploitation of Africa by the industrialised nations, such as the USA and France.

It is not difficult, therefore, to envisage the problems which the 19th OAU summit was destined to face.

To stop Qadhafi voicing these priorities as Africa's spokesman needed only a handful of nominal African leaders, dependent for their existence on the support they receive from the United States and France, to ensure that the summit was denied a quorum. Hence, when African leaders arrived for the scheduled summit last summer, Morocco seized on the justification for organising a boycott by other African leaders. Although Libya recognises the SADR and the right of the Saharan people to liberation from Moroccan military occupation, it could hardly be claimed that Libya had, single-handedly, secured SADR's admission to the OAU, but this might have been assumed to be the case from reading western newspaper reports.

At the same time, the western media, upon which many

Third World leaders depended for the information of world affairs, raised the spectre of Libya as a country intent on intervention in other African states and the overthrow of the existing regimes. The basis for this assertion has never been clearly explained. It did not need to be; the word of the western news agencies is so often accepted without question or analysis.

These news agencies are in the front line of the West's psychological warfare campaign, distributing misinformation fed to them by intelligence agencies and through foreign ministry briefings, and naively accepted as fact by agency correspondents. In such a manner, Libya has been branded as an expansion force, routinely engaging in subversion and interference in other countries.

Meanwhile, of course, the campaign diverts attention from the activities of the West's allies. Morocco, which organised the boycott of the summer summit in Libya, currently holds the Western Sahara under military occupation following the 1975 invasion; in 1962, on the eve of Algeria's independence, Morocco invaded an area of South-West Algeria rich in iron ore, oil and natural gas, and retains a share in a joint mining company for the area; in 1977, 2,000 Moroccan troops flew in US Air Force planes to Zaire to prop up Mobutu's regime, and some remain there; also in 1977, US planes took off from Morocco carrying mercenaries to Gabon and Benin in an unsuccessful coup attempt; in 1979, Morocco despatched 'military assistance' to a new regime in Equatorial Guinea, which in turn dropped its support for Polisario's war against Morocco. More recently, there is evidence of Morocco's role in aiding the Angolan subversive Jonas Savimbi, who acknowledges that Rabat supplies UNITA with aid.

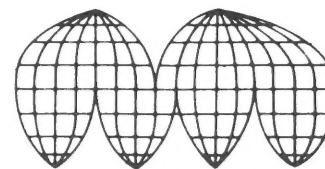
Elsewhere, South Africa is engaged in the subversion of southern Africa, actively attempting to destabilise countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola. Somalia is aiding its specially created Ogaden liberation forces to threaten the Ethiopian government, and has in the past made claims to regions of Kenya. Egypt has military advisors in the Sudan to prop up the Numeiri regime. Together, Cairo and Khartoum channelled US arms to Chad's rebel forces led by Hissene Habre. Little about this appears courtesy of the western news agencies.

It was, of course, the issue of Habre that was to be used to sabotage the November attempt to convene the OAU summit in Tripoli. By refusing to accept the compromise formula put forward, Habre effectively blocked any hope of securing a quorum, knowing that African regimes under French and American influence would absent themselves.

In fact, each time the OAU attempted to convene its summit in Libya, Tripoli became the front line in the battle for Africa being fought by France and America on one side, and progressively African leaders on the other. If it served to highlight the reality of Africa's status and lack of independence, the two aborted summits may in the end be for the good of Africa. It cannot have gone unnoticed that while the US and France make wild allegations of Libyan interventions, it is they who are sparing no effort to retain their grip on Africa.

The events of 1982 may provide the long awaited stimulus to shake Africa's leaders out of their complacency, and to question whether the OAU still serves the goals and aspirations which lay behind its foundation twenty years ago. By raising these issues and forcing the imperialists to show their hand and expose their allies in Africa, two aborted summits in Tripoli may have served the long term interests of Africa.

A monthly  
review of  
Libyan, Islamic  
and Third World  
affairs



**PANORAMA**  
news review

### 'Malicious coup reports' challenged

THE LIBYAN People's Bureau in London has rejected as malicious fabrications British media reports alleging that Muammar Qadhafi was recently the target of an assassination attempt, and has challenged the journalists and newspapers concerned to substantiate their claims.

The reports, in the *Guardian*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Mail* on 16th November, alleged that dissident officers in the Libyan armed forces had planned to gun down Colonel Qadhafi at Tripoli International Airport on his recent return from Peking. According to these papers, the plot was foiled with the arrest of more than one hundred officers.

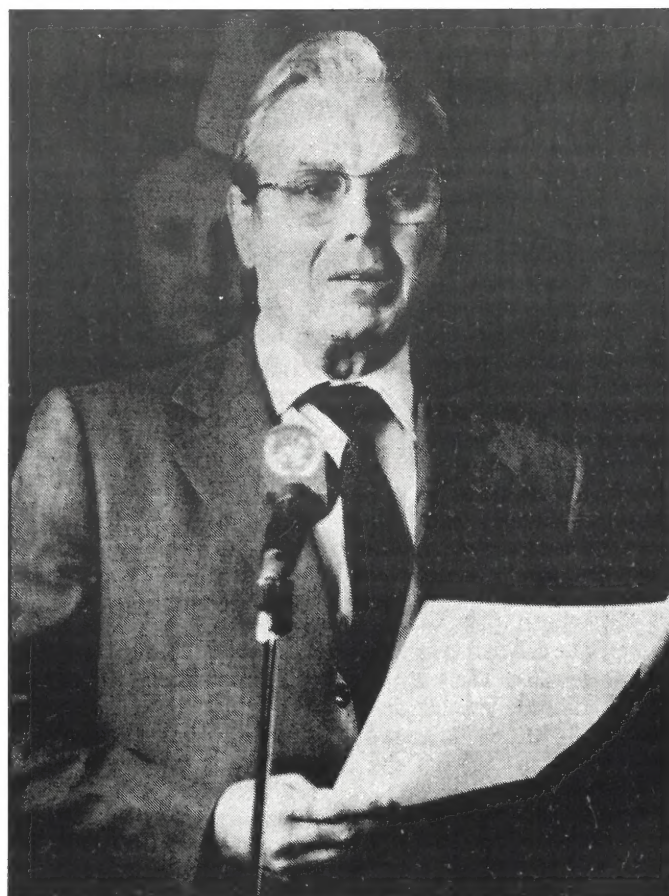
The allegations were clearly intended to cast doubt on the political stability of the Libyan Jamahiriya, on the eve of the summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in the Libyan capital Tripoli.

Dismissing the reports as 'totally without foundation', the People's Bureau in London said: 'We challenge the three journalists to state the source of their information, and secondly to produce the evidence to substantiate their claims. We are confident that no evidence exists. The whole story is sheer fantasy.'

The Libyan statement continued: 'The reports, all written by the respective newspapers' diplomatic correspondents, were evidently based on information from the same source, and we believe that it was given to the diplomatic correspondents concerned at a single briefing meeting in London on the afternoon of Monday, 15th November.'

'We cannot ignore the timing of these allegations, both in relation to the current OAU summit in Tripoli, and, since the allegations appeared exclusively in London based newspapers, also in the context of the growing economic and political ties between Britain and Libya.'

The People's Bureau stressed: 'Both the Libyan Jamahiriya and the United Kingdom are in the process of attempting to improve and strengthen political and economic relations. We deplore any attempt to undermine this effort, which is clearly against the interests of both countries. British exports to Libya last year



Peres de Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations

totalled £500 million in goods and services, with a consequential benefit to the UK in terms of employment and her balance of payments. We are hopeful that this level of economic co-operation will increase in 1983.'

### UN Secretary General praises Libya

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has been honoured by a visit from United Nations Secretary General Mr Peres de Cuellar, timed for the eve of the OAU summit in Tripoli.

During his visit to the Jamahiriya, Mr de Cuellar held talks with Mr Abel Ati al Ubeidi, Libya's Foreign Liaison Secretary, and with Dr Ali Abdesalam Treiki, Libya's Permanent Representative at the UN headquarters in New York. He was also welcomed to a reception given by the Foreign Liaison Bureau, attended by Mr Obeidi and Dr Treiki, by

OAU Secretary-General Edem Kojo, and by African Foreign Ministers who were in the Libyan capital to prepare the agenda for the OAU meeting.

On 22nd November the Jamahiriya news agency JANA said that Mr de Cuellar had expressed his appreciation of the Jamahiriya's role in assisting the smooth functioning of the United Nations, praising in particular Libya's generous contributions to UN agencies involved in provision of humanitarian aid. JANA added that Mr de Cuellar also 'affirmed the Jamahiriya's effective role in debating world issues tabled by the United Nations'.

### Aid for Tunisian flood victims

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's ties with its western neighbour were underlined in November when convoys of lorries loaded with relief supplies left Tripoli for flood-ravaged provinces in

Tunisia. Announcing the despatch on 16th November of the second convoy, the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA said that it was destined for the province of Zaghwan, and that its departure had been supervised by Mr Muhammad Janifan, the Head of the Tunisian General Commission in the Jamahiriya, and his Libyan counterpart. JANA added that the departure of the first convoy earlier in the month had been overseen by Major Khweildi Hamidi, Assistant Chief of Staff of the Libyan armed forces.

Libya has on a number of occasions in recent years moved to assist communities devastated by natural disasters. Last April Tripoli sent emergency supplies to Democratic Yemen in the wake of the most serious flooding on record. In December 1980, it was announced that the Jamahiriya was donating \$7 million to help the relief effort after an earthquake had devastated southern Italy. Shortly before, the Jamahiriya had despatched emergency relief supplies to aid the victims of the El Asnam earthquake disaster in Algeria.

### US provocations from the Atlantic to the Gulf

UNDERLINING THE threat it poses to the independence of the Arab nation, the United States has announced that it will conduct extensive military exercises in the Gulf region in December. Codenamed Jade Tiger, and scheduled to last ten days, the manoeuvres will involve one thousand US marines and will include mock landings on the coasts of Oman and Somalia. The exercises follow last year's Bright Star operation in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Oman, which involved about 5,000 US troops.

On 6th November the *International Herald Tribune* said that December's manoeuvres were designed to 'test the ability of the Rapid Deployment Force to project its power into the Gulf'. The RDF was ostensibly established to counter an alleged 'Soviet threat' to Arab oilfields, but its real purpose is to protect US interests in the Arab region. In particular, the RDF's mission is to prevent America's local





Strengthening Anglo-Libyan trade ties: Adem Kuwiri, Secretary General of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau in London, is welcomed to Coles Cranes factory in Sunderland by Richard Buckland.

during a two-day mission to the north of England to promote trade relations. (Full report appears on page 17.)

client regimes from being toppled in popular revolutions.

Morocco is developing into an important staging post for the RDF, and in November was the scene of military exercises involving Moroccan forces and US marines. The Libyan Jamahiriya has been firmly and consistently opposed to the establishment of military bases in the Arab region by any external power, and on 10th November the Libyan Foreign Liaison Bureau condemned the provocative manoeuvres in Morocco as confirmation of Washington's determination to expand its area of influence, regardless of the implications for international peace and security.

Affirming that the manoeuvres were 'a blatant threat to our Arab people in Algeria and Western Sahara', the Foreign Liaison Bureau stressed that 'any threat to the peace and security of Algeria is considered to threaten the security of the Libyan Jamahiriya'. The Bureau concluded by pledging full Libyan support for Algeria in countering any threat that might arise from the US military exercises.

## Town planners 'must respect Arab heritage'

URBAN DEVELOPMENT in the Arab region must change radically, to take full account of Arab and Islamic social and cultural traditions. This was the key message of Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi in his inaugural

address on 16th November to a meeting of Arab Housing and Construction Ministers in Benghazi.

Describing the expansion of cities in the region as 'blind', Muammar Qadhafi declared that towns were now 'spreading like cancer'. Cities were no longer on a human scale, and their size worked against the close sense of community that characterised traditional Arab social organisation.

The modern Arab city also posed serious environmental problems, the Libyan leader continued, citing as an example the frequency with which public buildings such as schools and hospitals were sited alongside major highways, where they were subject to pollution from traffic noise and fumes. Moreover, Arab cities were encroaching rapidly on badly needed agricultural land.

Colonel Qadhafi stressed the urgent need for a new approach to town planning, aimed at halting the chaotic and damaging growth of cities in the region, declaring: 'Urban planning in the Arab region has been copied from the European model, but not surprisingly the latter is ill-suited to local social, climatic and environmental conditions.'

The need for greater social self-reliance in town planning and construction was stressed by the Libyan leader. The Arab nation, he averred, was spending far too much on imports of construction materials that could be supplied at home. In addition, there was a worrying dependence on foreign expertise and contrac-

tors. As a step to remedy this situation, Colonel Qadhafi called for special efforts to encourage the return of Arab construction and town planning experts who had emigrated from the region. He further suggested that a special central office be set up to organise their rational deployment in the Arab homeland.

At the same time, the Libyan leader continued, specialised town planning and construction industry institutions should be established within the region. These would allow the training of more Arab experts, and would also play a major role in encouraging a greater awareness of concepts of town planning and construction attuned to the Arabs' rich cultural and social heritage.

Colonel Qadhafi concluded by stressing: 'People do not benefit from poor planning; they become its victims. We destroy a person if we divorce him from his culture, civilisation and accustomed social relationships.'

## Arab regimes fear Libya's example

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya and the country's revolutionary leader Muammar Qadhafi are feared by Arab regimes because Qadhafi provides the only alternative to their 'failure to fulfill their promises for economic prosperity and national strength', according to John Walter, professor of politics and international

affairs at Princeton University in the United States.

Professor Walter's comment came in a review of the state of the Arab nation, published in the *International Herald Tribune* on 16th November. He points out that 'since Israel's crushing victory of 1967 most Arab regimes have been fighting a rearguard action to cling to power'.

He adds, 'Today, these leaders' impotence in the face of the Israeli assault on the Palestinians threatens to strip them of their last pretence to legitimate rule.'

'The Arabs' summit conference at Fez in September was a near desperate attempt to mask their collective paralysis,' says the professor.

Libya refused to attend the summit because of Saudi Arabia's proposal to recognise Israel and embark on a plan to surrender to the Zionists. Instead, Qadhafi renewed his call for the Arabs to mobilise their military potential in the face of Israel's persistent aggressions against the Arab nation.

Libya's revolutionary leader Muammar Qadhafi, and the Jamahiriya's ally in Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini, are described by Professor Waterbury as 'the only leaders who seem to offer an alternative.'

The American professor also adds weight to Libya's repeated call for unity around a single political programme. Failure to achieve this, he argues, continues to weaken the opposition to the existing regimes in the Arab world.

## BBC lies exposed

WHEN THE BBC's *Panorama* programme screened a report on 26th July this year alleging that a Libyan fighter plane had shot down an Italian civil airliner over southern Italy in 1980, the Jamahiriya vigorously denied the claims, pointed to the lack of any evidence provided by the BBC, and to the absence of any possible motive for such an act. A statement by the Libyan People's Bureau in London suggested that the BBC had been used by a foreign intelligence organisation as a vehicle for the dissemination of 'black propaganda', aimed at sabotaging the Jamahiriya's developing links with western Europe.

Confirmation that the *Panorama* programme's claims were baseless has now come in the November issue of the London monthly *The Middle East*, which pointed to a US role in the destruction of the airliner and the deaths of its 85 passengers and crew. The magazine notes that in the past five years two civilian airliners have crashed in an area of sea between Rome and Palermo that is a centre for US Sixth Fleet operations, and that 'Dozens of pilots have described close encounters with planes carrying US markings'. Asserting that the Sixth Fleet 'appeared to be responsible' for the destruction of the DC 9 that was the subject of the *Panorama* report, the *Middle East* adds that the US Command had denied it 'despite radar confirmation and the fact that one US fighter was missing from its carrier'.

The magazine added that when the *Panorama* programme was shown in Italy, 'the BBC's image of reliability was shaken. The Italians ridiculed the suggestion (of Libyan involvement) on the grounds that Libya did not possess any aircraft with a long enough range to reach the area'.

The report continued: 'Three commissions of enquiry (parliamentary, judicial and technical) all stated that the British theory was baseless', and quoted Air Force General Romolo Mangani, commander of the area at the time of the incident, as saying: 'It is totally improbable that at an altitude of 7,000 metres a military plane could approach a civilian one and shoot it down without being noticed by the radar network along its route'.

At the time of the *Panorama* broadcast in Britain, the People's Bureau in London questioned whether the BBC was seriously suggesting that 'with all the sophisticated military equipment which the Americans and NATO must possess in that area, it would take two years for the Americans, let alone the Italian government, to make known its

evidence of a Libyan role in this affair'.

The *Middle East* noted that 'the credibility of the British programme was further undermined by an event that occurred a few days after its broadcast in Italy', when another DC 9 was barely hit by a Sixth Fleet jet in the same area, again during US naval exercises. A collision was avoided 'by sheer luck' when Rome traffic control noticed the fighter on its radar, and alerted the pilot of the civilian plane.

The *Middle East* concluded: 'Questions were raised in parliament on the "Sixth Fleet's assassinations in the air" and the Transport Minister asked the Americans to transfer their manoeuvres to another area'.

## Green Book symposium studies Jamahiri system

THE GUIDING principles of the Al Fateh Revolution are set out in Muammar Qadhafi's *Green Book*, and in November the Green Book Research and Studies Centre at Tripoli's Al Fateh University mounted a programme of special seminars to increase popular understanding of the ideals of revolutionary Libya.

In November, Staff Major Abdesalam Jalloud, a Prime Minister in the early revolutionary period who remains a close aide of Muammar Qadhafi, gave the keynote speech at one of the *Green Book* symposia, and stressed that

the Al Fateh Revolution represented a culmination of the development of political thought, in that it was the first political system in history that was based firmly on the need for mass popular participation in national life.

Major Jalloud pointed out that the Libyan Revolution had proceeded by stages. At the beginning, after Muammar Qadhafi and his fellow Free Unionist officers ousted the corrupt regime of King Idris, they set up a Revolution Command Council that acted on behalf of the population at large. At that time, declared Major Jalloud, 'the masses achieved victory in the person of Muammar Qadhafi and the Free Unionist Officers' Movement'.

In the years since 1969, Major Jalloud continued, the Al Fateh Revolution had progressively moved to secure popular participation in the political process. A turning point came in 1973, with the Cultural Revolution, when students and workers had been urged to take over their places of work and run them through people's committees. Gradually the system of direct democracy had been extended, a process that culminated in 1977 with the declaration of the Jamahiriya. Today, declared Major Jalloud, further development of the Jamahiri system was the sole responsibility of the people, and no longer the exclusive preserve of the revolutionary leadership.

During the three-day symposium, more than seventy papers were presented on various aspects of the *Green Book*.

## US turns the screw

AS A sequel to its embargo on trade with the Jamahiriya, imposed last March, Washington has warned US oil companies in Libya against exporting to the US refined petroleum products made from Libyan oil. Such products were not covered by Reagan's original proclamation banning US imports of the Jamahiriya's crude oil, but in November the State Department declared that they were 'contrary to the spirit' of President Reagan's boycott.

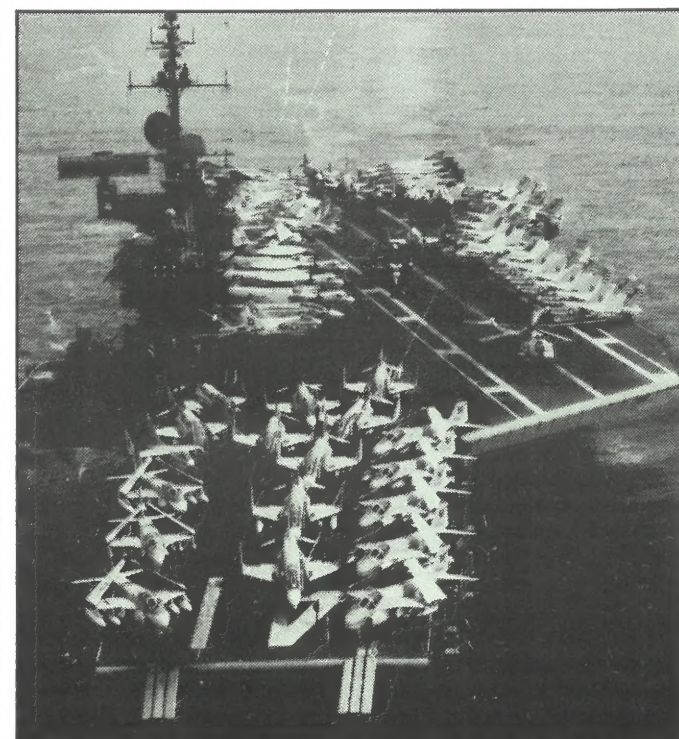
According to the specialist oil industry journal *Middle East Economic Survey*, sales in the US of products manufactured from Libyan crude at refineries in the Caribbean and Europe 'have been continuing at a fairly substantial rate'.

The United States imposed its boycott on trade with the Jamahiriya in response to astonishing and totally unfounded claims by Washington that Libya had sent a series of 'hit squads' to assassinate Reagan. The Libyan Jamahiriya has shrugged off the boycott by stepping up its political and economic ties with western Europe.

## Hungarian Defence Minister visits Tripoli

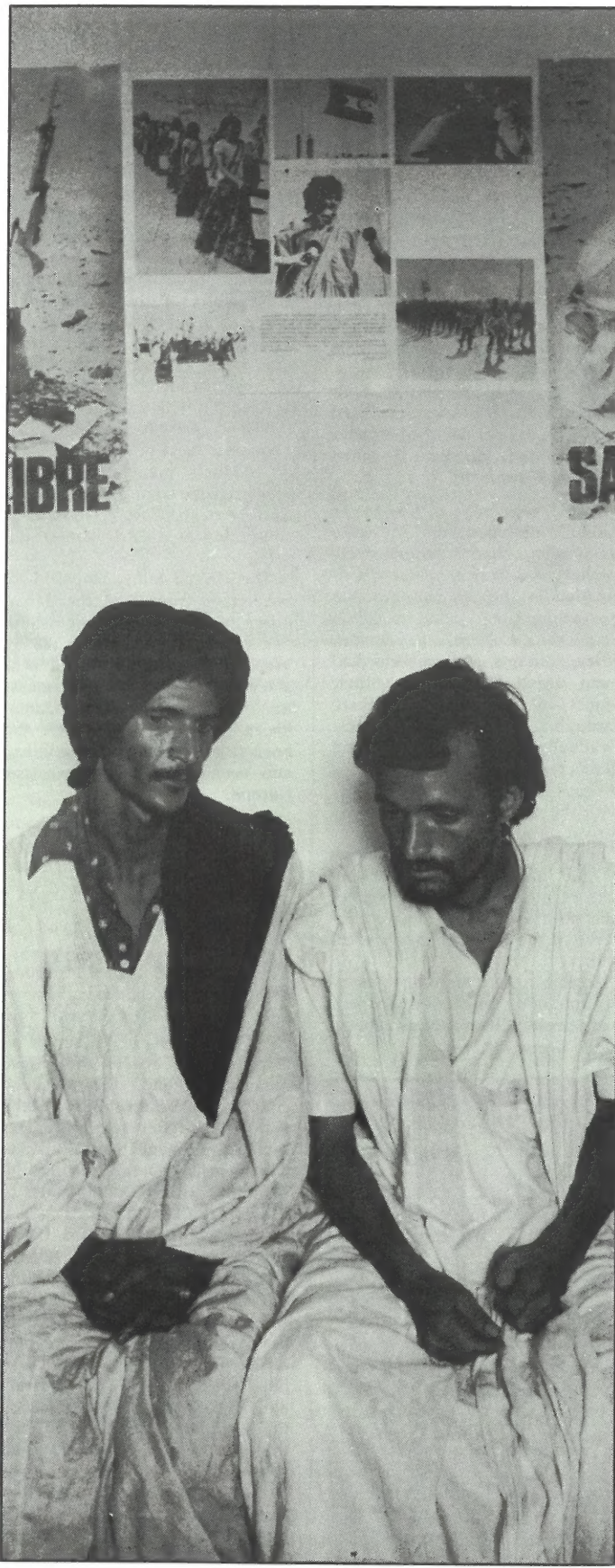
IN THE latest of a series of consultations between the Libyan Jamahiriya and the socialist countries of eastern Europe, the Hungarian Defence Minister Mr Lajos Czineger paid a visit to Tripoli in late October, where he held talks with the Commander in Chief of the Libyan armed forces, Brigadier Abu Bakr Yunis Jaber. On 1st November the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA quoted the Libyan Commander in Chief as stressing the vital importance to the Arab nation of the support forthcoming from its east European allies at a time when Israel and its US backer had launched unprecedented assaults on the region's independence and sovereignty. In reply, Mr Czineger reaffirmed the Hungarian people's determination to bolster ties with the Libyan Jamahiriya and the wider Arab nation.

The Hungarian Defence Minister's talks in Tripoli followed visits in October by Brigadier Abu Bakr Yunis Jaber to Poland and Czechoslovakia. His east European tour in turn came after September's successful visits to Prague and Warsaw by revolutionary leader Muammar



Two civilian airliners have crashed in an area of sea that is the centre for US Sixth Fleet operations.





SADR was proclaimed by Polisario Front who are fighting for liberation from Moroccan occupation.

► Qadhafi, during which wide-ranging friendship and co-operation treaties were signed or agreed in principle. The Libyan leader was in east Europe again in October. While en route to Peking

for talks with the Chinese leadership, he paid a short visit to Bulgaria, and on his return from his Far East tour he stopped over in Belgrade for talks with Yugoslav President Stambolic.

## New faces in SADR government

A NEW government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), consisting of six Ministers and two Secretaries of State, was announced on 4th November. The former Interior Minister, Mr Mahfoud Ali Beida, heads the new government; Muhammad Lamine, the former Premier, becomes Minister of Education, while Mr Ibrahim Ghali and Mr Ibrahim Hakim retained their respective positions as Defence Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Mr Muhammad Ould Saydati was appointed Secretary General for the Presidency.

The Saharan Arab Democratic Republic was proclaimed by the Polisario Front, who are fighting a guerrilla war for the liberation from Moroccan occupation of the former Spanish colony of Spanish Sahara. The SADR has achieved a wide measure of recognition, and last February became the 51st member of the Organisation of African Unity.

## Africans reject US destabilisation efforts

A TOUR of black African countries by US Vice President George Bush has drawn an angry response from progressive Africans, who saw the American move as a last-ditch attempt to sow divisions in the continent on the eve of the OAU summit in Tripoli.

This view was clearly articulated on 18th November by Adis Ababa's Voice of Namibia radio, which accused the US Vice President of having two motives: 'to create chaos and division within the OAU before the summit conference reconvenes', and 'to exert pressure on the frontline states (in the struggle against the racists in Pretoria) to follow the dictates of Washington'.

The latter objective was evident from Bush's insistence in his talks with African leaders that a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola would speed the independence of South African-occupied Namibia. It is difficult to see any basis for the assertion. Cuban troops were invited to Angola to help counter repeated South African military assaults on the frontline state. The intransigence of the apartheid regime on the Namibia question was obvious well before the arrival of any Cuban troops.

Voice of Namibia radio affirmed that 'the Reagan regime's new

offensive in Africa is designed to destabilise the continent and thereby undermine African unity on the eve of the OAU summit'.

## Ties with Malta consolidated

THE UPTURN in relations between the Jamahiriya and Malta over the past year was underlined in November with the arrival in Tripoli of Maltese Interior Minister Mr Lorry Sant, for his second visit to Libya in two months. On 15th November Tripoli radio quoted him as affirming that 'the people of the Jamahiriya and its leader were in the forefront of those who support Malta's neutrality'.

A period of strained relations between Valetta and Tripoli over offshore oil drilling rights ended last March when Muammer Qadhafi made a surprise stopover in the Mediterranean island for talks with Premier Dom Mintoff, while returning to Tripoli from his visit to Austria. A major outcome of the stopover was a decision to refer the question of offshore oil exploration rights to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. The dispute was formally submitted to the court on 30th July, and a decision is expected in the new year.

## Israel tests US weapons

ONE OF the most important aspects of Israel's military aggressions is that they offer an opportunity for the United States to assess its latest weaponry against the Soviet defence equipment widely used by Arab countries. This role of the Zionist state in the global East-West confrontation was underlined on 8th November, when *The Guardian* announced that 'a senior US Defence Department intelligence analyst will leave for Israel shortly to begin assessing the effectiveness of the US and Soviet weaponry used in the recent fighting in Lebanon'.

The paper said that the official, Mr Andrew Marshall, described as 'a senior aide in the Defence Secretary. Mr Caspar Weinberger's office', would make preparations for follow-up visits by US service chiefs at the invitation of the Israeli government.

The US air force and army are said to be particularly interested in the performance of the McDonnell Douglas F-15 and General Dynamics F-16 fighter bombers, which were intensively used by the Zionist air force in its terror-bombing of Palestinians and Lebanese.

THE FAILURE of the Organisation of African Unity to convene its second attempted summit meeting in Tripoli during November has been blamed squarely on interference by France and the United States, and described by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi as a betrayal of the aspirations of the African people for independence and economic progress.

Addressing the closing session of African leaders, Muammer Qadhafi warned that both Washington and Paris had engaged in a campaign to sabotage the summit, and to undermine further an already divided continent which Libya hoped would get down to the serious business of discussing the urgent issues of economic development and pan-African co-operation, together with the crisis in southern Africa and the need for concerted action to support the national liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia.

The issue of which delegation should represent Chad was merely a pretext to stop the summit achieving a quorum, just as the admission of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic had been used by America's surrogates to block the earlier summit planned for August, he emphasised.

The need to make the OAU Summit relevant to the people of Africa had been the theme of Muammer Qadhafi's opening speech to African foreign ministers. Plans for economic co-operation, African development, and health and welfare programmes were to have been the central themes to which the Libyan leader had hoped the OAU would devote its energies. Now, he argued, African leaders, especially those responsible for obstructing the summit over the Chad issue, must face their own people to explain why these vital issues had not been discussed and the form of action to deal with them remained unresolved.

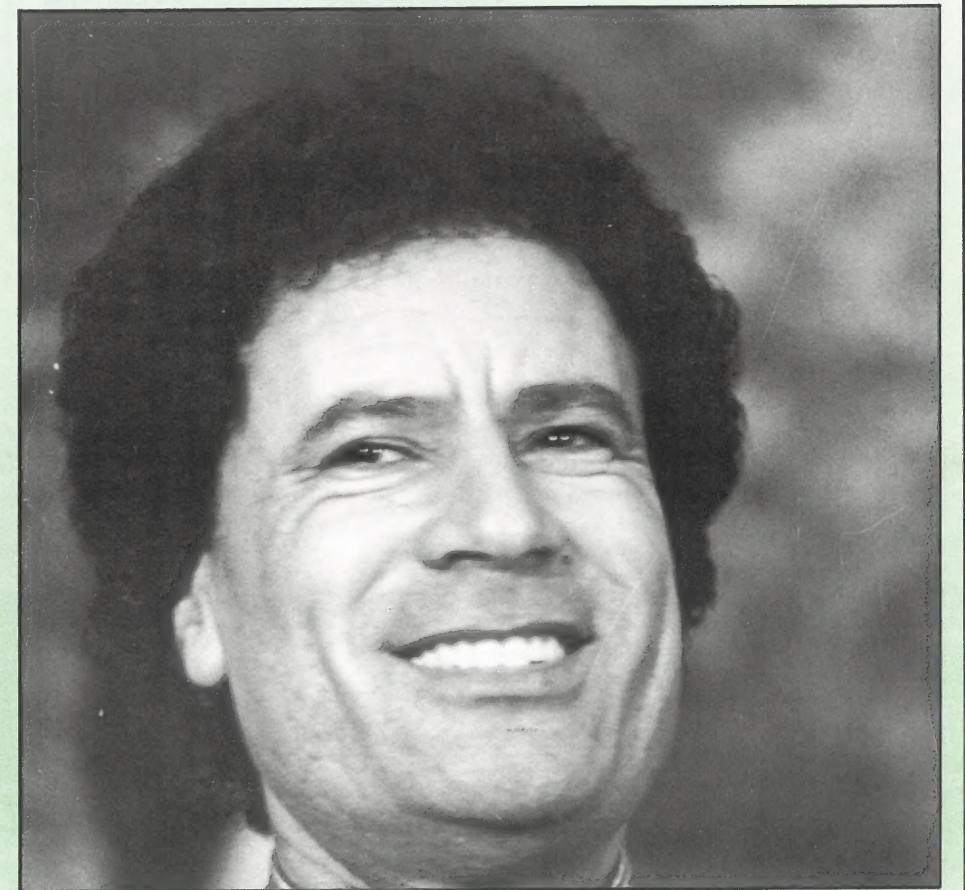
It was absurd that the needs of the people of Namibia and South Africa should be set aside because certain African leaders were more accountable to France and the United States than to their own people in serving the interests of Africa.

Although the western press was predictable in its interpretation of the reasons for the collapse of the summit, the facts do not support the claim that Libya was responsible for creating dissension over which delegation should represent the Jamahiriya's southern neighbour, Chad. Differences arose when two delegations arrived in the Libyan capital. The first was that led by Goukouni Oueddei, who was appointed by a previous OAU summit to head the Transnational Government, which earlier this year lost control of the capital, Ndjamen, to rebel forces led by former defence minister Hissene Habre.

Goukouni Oueddi now commands forces based in the north of Chad, and retains the allegiance of other groups based in the south of the country.

The Libyans proposed that the issue could be debated by the African leaders

# Tripoli summit: Front line in the battle for Africa



in the summit, in view of the latter's responsibility for deciding at an earlier summit to support Oueddei's leadership of the Transitional Government. Only they could decide on recognition of another government in Chad, said the Libyan delegation. Alternatively, the Libyans suggested, the summit should get on with the important issues already on the agenda, and convene a separate OAU conference to deal specifically with the Chad issue. Libya also gave support for the proposal that neither Chadian delegation should be seated at the 1982 summit.

The summit was finally abandoned when Habre's foreign minister announced from Paris that this formula was unacceptable to the Habre faction. Either the Habre delegation took the Chadian seat at the summit, or there would be no summit, he said, confident that a small group of African states aligned to the United States and France could successfully block the summit securing the required two-thirds quorum.

## African interests

Muammer Qadhafi's opening address pointed to the priorities which Libya would have emphasised in the event of his taking the Chair of the OAU from Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi (see separate report). In particular, the Libyans hoped

that the OAU could be mobilised to advance the interests of Africa and African independence from its foreign colonial rulers and the expanding American influence over the continent. It was fear that Africa might move in this direction that prompted the United States and France to mount a sustained campaign to subvert the Tripoli summit, backed by surrogate rulers such as Zaire's Mobuto and Morocco's King Hassan who faced being exposed for subverting Africa's independence.

Eventually, Libya was forced to admit that it could compromise no further on its principles. As Qadhafi pointed out, Libya had enhanced the prospects of the second attempt to stage the summit by using its influence with Polisario to secure their agreement to remain absent from the Tripoli summit, thereby removing the reason for Morocco and other pro-Western regimes in Africa put forward to justify their boycott of the first scheduled summit in August.

'By trying to serve the cause of African unity, I might have wronged the SADR, because I exercised my moral influence on my brothers, the commanders of Polisario, to decide to abstain,' Muammer Qadhafi told African leaders in the closing session.

'I am sorry indeed to see no interest shown in the economic, social and liber-



ation problems of Africa. These are sensitive and urgent issues, affecting the African citizen. African interests have been sacrificed for the sake of upholding cheap political positions which serve nobody but the enemies of Africa,' he declared.

The Libyan leader lamented the pathetic situation into which a small group of African regimes had forced the OAU. It did not serve African interests that its leaders should be preoccupied with issues of

summits and quorums, while others such as hunger and disease, economic progress and development, and liberation struggles were set aside.

#### Sabotage

As one observer at the summit told *Jama-hiriya Review* it became clear that those African leaders influenced by Washington and Paris were determined to sabotage the summit. Progressive and nationalist leaders were being repeatedly asked to

compromise on issues of principle. Compromise over SADR's seat, the issue raised at the August meeting, merely led to the issue of Chad being raised, and compromise on that issue, when it came, was then rejected by the Habre delegation in a clear bid to block the summit.

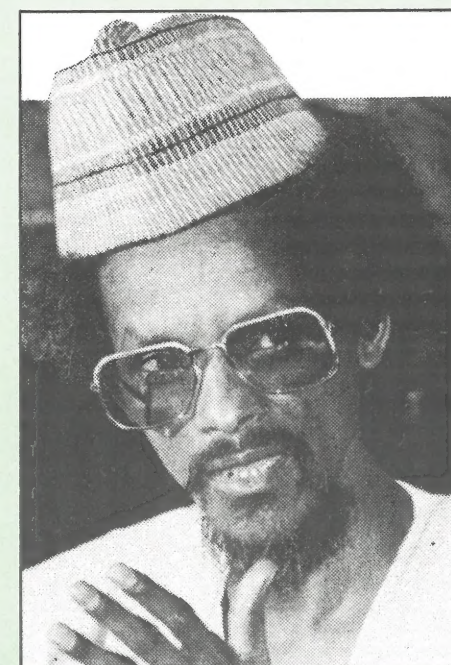
Qadhafi told the African leaders, 'The holding of the summit is not important; holding the summit with a quorum is only a formality. The vital thing is to face up to the economic, social and liberation

problems facing Africa. Otherwise, we would be turning the African summit conference into periods for presidential and secretarial elections, and the convening would be purely for the sake of convening, and African unity becomes devoid of all content.'

'Africa,' he added, 'should meet to solve its own social and liberation problems.'

Turning to the real reasons why the summit had been abandoned, Qadhafi referred to 'Africa's subservience to France' and 'American domination in Africa'. Was it Libya, which was fully committed to the liberation struggles in southern Africa, which sought to divide Africa and the OAU, or Zaire, which forged an alliance with Israel, a settler regime oppressing the Palestinian Arabs? The Arab nation stood by its African brothers in their struggle, and expected Africa to stand in solidarity with the Arab struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

He charged some African leaders with failing to support their goals of the OAU in respect of Africa's independence from imperialism. Africa's resolve to stand in defence of the OAU's principles was nowhere more graphically illustrated than over the issue of Libya's leadership of the OAU. Qadhafi pointed out that from the outset, following last year's



Chad's Goukouni Oueddei

decision to hold the OAU summit in Tripoli, the United States and France had spared no efforts to sabotage the OAU and discredit the Jamahiriya in the eyes of Africa through a scurrilous propaganda campaign against Libya.

The Libyan leader described the partnership between the United States, France, Israel, the Sudan, Somalia and Morocco, as 'a filthy alliance', which he said has 'sought to isolate Libya'. The sheer scale of the campaign being waged against the Jamahiriya simply confirmed that of all the forces confronting colonialism and racism, Libya was most feared.

The Libyan leader paid tribute to those African leaders who had come to Tripoli, despite the pressures which had been placed on them to stay away by the US and France. He referred to Madagascar, the Seychelles and Mauritius, and to Mozambique, 'fighting a war against racism', and Angola, 'facing the occupation of part of its territory', which had twice sent delegations to Tripoli in an effort to serve African interests, and compared them to 'others' who, he said, had 'found 1,000 excuses for not coming'.

'The African will of challenge is epitomised precisely by Mozambique and Angola,' the Libyan leader declared.

Those African leaders who had come to Tripoli, Qadhafi said, had stood by their principles. It would have been easy to stage the summit if they had been ready to abandon their principles, but what value would there be in holding a summit under subservience to the Americans and France.

of thousands of European workers and farmers. He would do his utmost, he pledged, to ensure that the Nineteenth OAU Summit proved to be a turning point in the body's history, marking the start of a new emphasis on practical measures of inter-African co-operation.

#### Deeply split

Acknowledging that Africa was deeply split over major political issues, Qadhafi cited by way of example the divisions over the French policy of maintaining influence with its former colonies, highlighted by the annual meetings, under French auspices, of French-speaking African countries. From the Libyan viewpoint, this was 'a disgrace to these independent countries, and represents the continuation of French colonialism in a new form'.

Another example of the deep rifts between African nations was the recent decision of Zaire (which Colonel Qadhafi did not mention by name) to restore links with the Zionist state of Israel. This, he noted, had come at a time when all the other African states were firmly boycotting the racist regimes both in South Africa and occupied Palestine.

It was extremely difficult for a continent as large and diverse as Africa to arrive at a common stand on all major political issues, affirmed the Libyan leader. But it was a fundamental duty of Africans to bolster the liberation struggles in Palestine and southern Africa. Indeed, he stressed, such a stance represented the very minimum basis in the political sphere for wider inter-African co-operation. ▶

## Concrete proposals for African unity

THE NEED for the OAU to be transformed into a truly effective body, and for Africans to act more decisively to secure their independence from outside powers were major themes of Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi's inaugural address on 15th November to a meeting of African Foreign Ministers assembled in Tripoli to prepare the agenda for the Nineteenth OUA Summit.

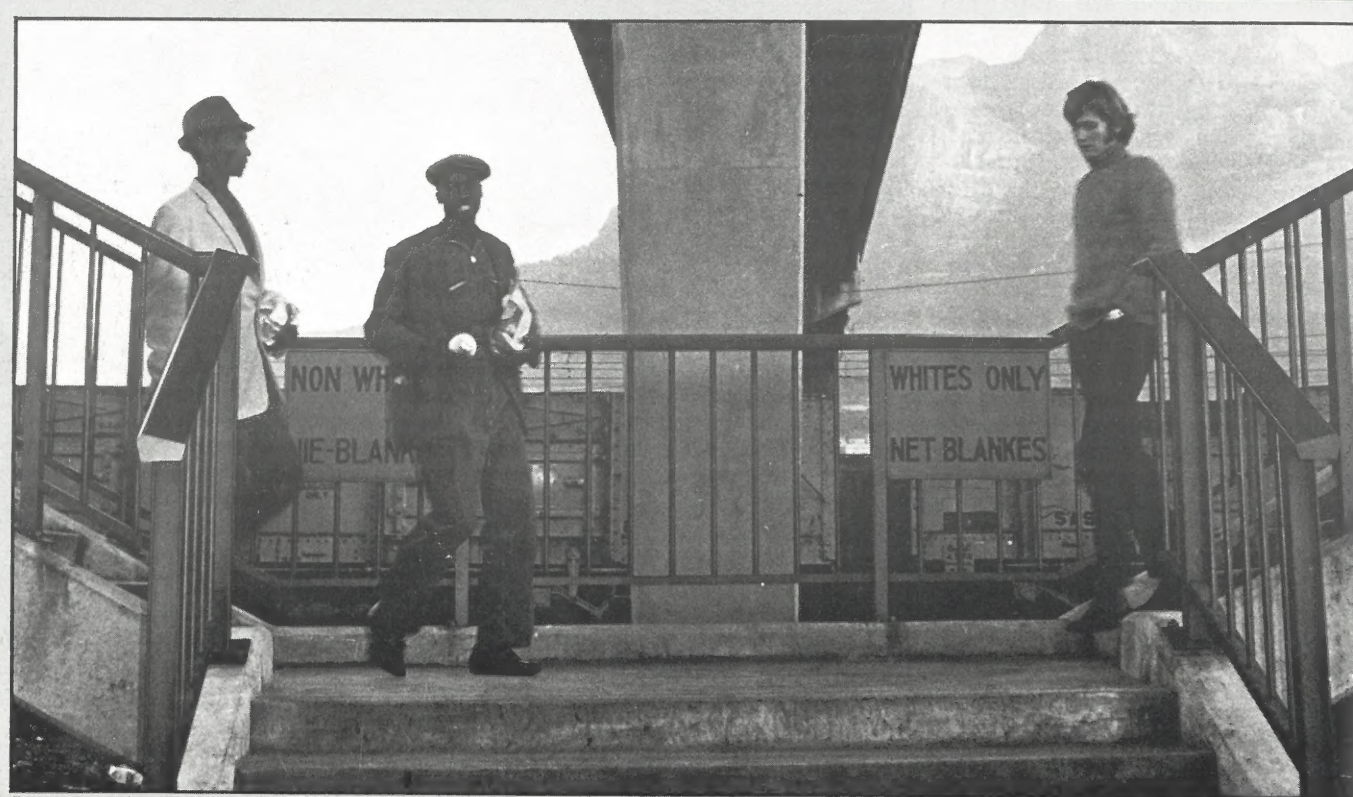
Colonel Qadhafi stressed the need for practical measures to bolster unity and co-operation in Africa, and suggested as examples the establishment of an African Health Organisation and an African Court of Justice.

In the event, the OAU summit was postponed for the second time in four months, but Muammer Qadhafi's speech stands as an important statement of how the Jamahiriya sees the future role of the OAU. As the Libyan leader himself told the African Foreign Ministers, 'What I am going to say to you is even more important than what I will say at the summit conference, which will only be a confirmation of these points.'

Deploring the OAU's lack of any real muscle, Muammer Qadhafi noted that in the nineteen years of its existence, 'it has brought about no positive, worthwhile results serving the good of the African

**ADDRESSING AFRICAN Foreign Ministers assembled in Tripoli to prepare the agenda for the Nineteenth OAU Summit, Muammer Qadhafi stressed the need for the OAU to concentrate more on economic and social co-operation as the only way for its transformation into a body whose decisions had a direct and practical influence on the lives of ordinary Africans. Majid al Mansour reviews the Libyan Leader's message to Africa.**

peoples'. In the OAU, he continued, Africa had merely 'a form of unity, devoid of all content'. To underline his point, the Libyan leader contrasted the OAU, which had little effect on the lives of ordinary Africans, with the EEC, whose decisions were of immediate concern to hundreds



Summit condemned escalating western support for the racist apartheid regime.

### US support for apartheid condemned

IN A special Declaration on South Africa, the Tripoli summit firmly condemned the escalating support of the Reagan administration and other western countries for the apartheid regime in Pretoria, and called for forthright measures aimed at isolating racist South Africa, with a view to its eventual replacement by a democratic state which guaranteed the rights of all its citizens, regardless of their colour.

The African leaders expressed their 'indignation at the policy of the Reagan administration, epitomised by its so-called "constructive commitment" to South Africa, and which has led to the intensification of economic, military and nuclear co-operation with the racist, discriminatory regime'. Condemning Reagan's policy as 'hostile to the aspirations of the African people and the world community,' the Tripoli summit added that the growing ties between Pretoria and Washington had merely increased the racists' intransi-

gence, and encouraged them to escalate their suppression of the opponents of apartheid.

The role of the US, West Germany, Britain and other western countries in the recent decision of the International Monetary Fund to grant a large loan to South Africa was strongly condemned as an 'unfriendly act' and a 'challenge to UN General Assembly resolutions'. The loan, declared the heads of state, would be used to finance Pretoria's 'programme of aggression and suppression'.

The Tripoli summit scorned the recently announced 'reforms' in South Africa, under which the Indian and Coloured communities will receive certain political rights, but at the same time will become liable for military service. The scheme constituted a 'sinister manoeuvre intended to trick world public opinion while consecrating apartheid,' the Tripoli summit declared.

The African leaders proposed a series of practical measures aimed at bring-

ing change in southern Africa. They called on the international community 'to double aid to the national liberation movement in order to raise its ability to strike at the enemy. INF member states were urged, in conjunction with non-aligned countries, 'to seek to expel this racist regime from the Fund'. The African group at the UN was called on to seek an urgent Security Council meeting aimed at imposing 'total and mandatory sanctions against South Africa'. The heads of state urged support for the efforts of the International Conference of Free Trades Unions to mobilise world opinion behind the imposition of sanctions against the racists in Pretoria.

Finally, while applauding those countries, organisations, artists and athletes that had boycotted South Africa, the Tripoli summit expressed its regret at the participation of some artists and sportsmen in events in South Africa, and appealed to them 'to refrain from any dealings with the apartheid regime'.



► It was difficult to separate political questions from social and economic issues, but in order to side-step divisive political conflicts, Muammer Qadhafi urged that the emphasis of discussions at the OAU Summit should be on African economic and social co-operation, saying that this had become particularly important with the collapse of the North-South dialogue. There should be 'an African-African dialogue aimed at economic co-operation between the continent's poor and rich countries,' he declared.

#### Proposals

The Libyan leader went on to make concrete proposals of what might be achieved. Noting that the continent's severe health problems had not yielded to the efforts of the World Health Organisation, he urged

the establishment of an African Health Organisation, to be funded by the richer African countries.

In keeping with his theme that Africans should assume greater responsibility for their own affairs, without outside interference, Muammer Qadhafi suggested the establishment of an African Court of Justice. Such an institution, he explained, would not conflict with the existing International Court of Justice at The Hague. The African court would confine itself to inter-African disputes, while conflicts between African and non-African countries would be referred to The Hague.

As a step towards enhancing the political influence of the African continent, said Muammer Qadhafi, African countries should work collectively at the United Nations to abolish the veto powers enjoyed in the Security Council by the five Per-

manent Members. It was absurd, he said, that the US as a whole was prevented from taking action on major world issues simply because one or other of the western states with a veto objected.

Returning to the need for the transformation of the OAU into something more than just a talking shop, Muammer Qadhafi stressed that he was against African countries attending the OAU summit in Tripoli merely to make up the required quorum of 34 countries. Equally, he stressed that he had no personal interest in gaining the Chairmanship of the OAU merely for prestige of the title. 'I have absolutely no interest in the OAU Chairmanship unless something concrete is done to consolidate this continent and its people, to end colonialism in Africa, and to achieve equality and social justice for the African peoples,' he declared.

### Solidarity with Namibian people

*THE PEOPLE of Namibia, living under South African occupation, must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination and national freedom, and the South West African People's Organisation SWAPO, which is waging a guerrilla war for the liberation of Namibia, is the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, entitled to play a full role in any negotiations on the future of Namibia. This was the position spelled out by African heads of state in a special Declaration on Namibia, adopted at November's summit in Tripoli.*

Affirming that the direct protagonists in the Namibian conflict are the Namibian people and the racist regime in South Africa, the summit firmly rejected the attempts that the US is making to suggest that Namibian independence is in some way linked to a withdrawal of the Cuban troops that were invited by the Luanda Government to help defend Angola's national territory from repeated military aggression by South Africa.

The Declaration affirmed that Washington's calls for the evacuation of the Cuban troops was 'contradictory to the UN Charter', and it stressed that 'the continuation of these attempts constitute not only a form of dominance on the Namibian region with the purpose of prolonging the unlawful occupation of Namibia and oppressing its citizens, but also a blatant interference in the internal affairs of Angola'.

Underlining Africa's solidarity with the frontline states in the struggle against racism in southern Africa, the Tripoli summit strongly condemned 'the persistent military aggressive acts and economic sabotage carried out by South Africa's racist regime against the independent states of Africa', and



SWAPO freedom fighters

demanding 'the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African forces which still occupy part of Angolan territory' and an end to Pretoria's 'support for armed gangs and mercenaries' in the continent.

Reaffirming that SWAPO was 'the sole and true representative for self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia', and declaring their 'total support for the armed struggle waged by the Namibian people, led by SWAPO,' the African heads of state renewed their 'pledge to provide more material, financial, military, political and humanitarian aid' to the liberation movement. It was reiterated that 'true independence for Namibia can be attained only through SWAPO's full and direct participation in all endeavours aimed at implementing the UN play on Namibian independence'.

The Tripoli summit stressed that the basis for a settlement of the Namibia question had been spelled out in resolutions of the United Nations, and the heads of state demanded full South African respect for, and compliance with, the UN's calls.

## Africa's economic crisis

**RECESSION in the West has meant economic ruin for the developing nations of the Third World. Many countries in Africa are now on the verge of bankruptcy, highlighting the urgent need for regional co-operation to overcome the common problems. Robert Miller reviews Africa's struggle for economic survival, which has important implications for the continent's political independence.**

HAD THE OAU Summit been able to convene in Tripoli in November, one of its key tasks would have been to discuss ways of countering the continent's growing economic crisis. Soaring interest rates in the industrialised western countries, the West's refusal to step up its aid to Third World nations, and the collapse of world commodity prices in the face of the capitalist recession have all combined to bring African nations to the verge of bankruptcy.

The most striking measure of the crisis is the scale of Africa's debt burden. Some countries are scheduled to pay interest and principal in 1982 equalling their total export earnings. At least forty of the world's poorest countries, most of them in Africa, are in arrears with their public debt repayments. The accumulated debts

of Zaire, for example, now total \$5 billion, and western commercial banks are having to reschedule payments that have already been rescheduled. In Tanzania, all development projects recently had to be halted for four months to allow the country to pay off \$24 million owing to the World Bank.

Economists agree that the ratio between a country's debt repayments and its export earnings should not exceed twenty per cent, yet in Africa forty per cent is now common, and in Sudan the figure has reached one hundred per cent. Even some of the more prosperous African countries, such as Nigeria and Kenya, face chronic balance of payments difficulties, and have meagre foreign exchange reserves to draw on.

#### Soft loans

In the past, the principal source of financial aid to the developing nations of Africa has been the International Development Agency (IDA), an arm of the World Bank that disburses soft loans carrying zero interest. The IDA, however, is heavily dependent on donations from the United States, and the advent of the Reagan administration brought with it a callous indifference to the needs of developing countries. The World Bank has been struggling to maintain the flow of loans from the developed to the developing countries, but the US government has been dragging its feet over the provision to the World Bank of 'bridging finance' for the IDA, and in addition has decided that its next donation of \$3 billion will be spread over four years instead of three, regardless of the crisis faced by recipients of IDA loans.

This meanness by the Reagan administration is fully matched by the policies of other western governments fighting the capitalist world's worst recession since the 1930s. At a time when western governments have become obsessed with cutting public spending, on the grounds that it is 'non-productive', aid to impoverished developing countries has been an easy target for reductions, carrying almost no domestic political penalty. In the 1977/78 financial year, for example, British overseas aid totalled £599 million, and by this year the figure had risen by sixty per cent to £959 million. Over the same period, though inflation in Britain totalled 80.1 per cent, and in real terms London's overseas aid disbursements have therefore fallen drastically.

The western recession, however, has had far more damaging implications for the Third World than diminished aid flows. Slumping demand in the industrialised countries has led to the collapse of prices for basic commodities, which account for a major proportion of Third World incomes. Zambia once enjoyed one of the highest incomes in Africa, but 95 per cent of its earnings come from copper, and the depressed world market means that the metal must now be produced at a loss. Cocoa comprises more

than sixty per cent of Ghana's exports, but in the past four years the world cocoa price has fallen by two-thirds in real terms.

#### Collapse

The collapse of commodity prices and the lack of development aid have been compounded by high western interest rates, which perhaps constitute the single most devastating implication of the capitalist recession for Third World countries. The feelings of Africans were eloquently summed up by Accra radio recently, when it said: 'The imposition of oppressive credit terms is the method imperialism has perfected'.

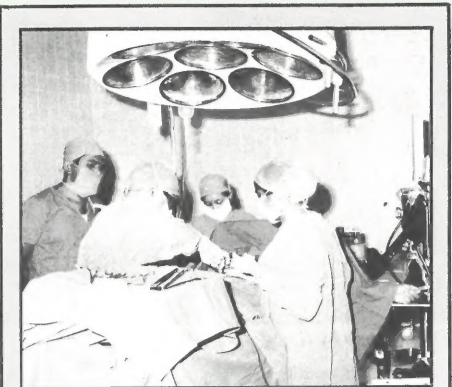
Apart from the human misery it causes, poverty has a fundamental political dimension. It places Third World countries at the mercy of the western financial institutions to which they are in debt. Often, the western banks act as the spearhead for what amounts to a complete economic and political takeover by industrialised states.

Sudan provides a classic case study. In November, the IMF agreed to extend to Khartoum a one year \$150 million stand by credit. But the political price was heavy. The Numeiri regime was forced to agree to a 44 per cent devaluation of the currency, which will lead to a major rise in prices. Khartoum also has had to tailor public spending to meet IMF approval. Another condition of the loan was Khartoum's agreement to restrict the extent of central bank financing for government spending. On 19th November the London weekly *Middle East Economic Digest* disclosed that this 'could necessitate public spending cuts of up to 40 per cent over a fiscal year'.

The IMF's power was also underlined in Zambia in November, with the arrival of a bank team to restart talks on payment of an \$850 million loan. Instalments had been stopped when the African country refused to abide by the conditions attached to it.

From such dependence on one or other of the principal institutions of the western capitalist system, it is but a small step to overt political dependence. In Sudan, as in some other poverty-stricken African countries with unprincipled regimes, the process is already far advanced. The Numeiri regime is now a quite open client of Washington.

Faced with the Third World's economic crisis, commercial banks in the West have virtually ceased lending. Given the current structure of international economic relations, the only short term solution for Africa lies in a stepping up of soft loan disbursements by the IDA. Negotiations will start soon aimed at persuading donor countries to contribute at least \$17 million over the next three years. But the only real long term answer to poverty and deprivation lies in more determined efforts by African nations themselves to deploy their resources more effectively, as part of an integrated, continent-wide strategy.



### Green light for health care programme

*THE THIRTY-one African heads of state meeting in Tripoli in November concluded their discussions by taking steps to ensure that the delay in reconvening the Nineteenth OAU Summit will not interrupt the organisation's social and economic programmes. They also appointed a special committee to continue negotiations aimed at reconvening the summit.*

In the Tripoli Declaration, issued on 26th November, the current Chairman of the OAU, Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi, called on the Organisation's Secretariat to start work on pan-African economic and social development schemes. Specifically, the Declaration required the OAU Secretariat to prepare an expanded vaccination programme, a campaign to counter chronic diseases, and the expansion of mother and child care and family planning programmes. The Secretariat was also charged with preparing measures aimed at increasing the number of skilled medical personnel in Africa.

Affirming their determination to reconvene the OAU Summit, the heads of state named a special liaison committee, charged with conducting negotiations to that end. Chaired by Kenya, the committee also includes Ethiopia, Lesotho, Tanzania, Mali, Angola, Zambia, Congo, Libya, Uganda, Nigeria and Mozambique.

The Tripoli Declaration ended with a firm denunciation of 'the Zionist aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people, and especially the extermination to which the Sabra and Chatila [Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut] were exposed', and a demand for 'the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the aggressors from Lebanese territory and also from all the occupied Arab areas'.

The African leaders also reaffirmed their support for 'the heroic and just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of their sole representative, the PLO, for self-determination and return to their homeland, and the right to establish an independent state in Palestine'.





Democracy by the people

## People's Democracy: How it works

TO MOST people in the West, and those in the Third World dependent on the Western controlled international news agencies, Libya must appear to be an ordinary, unexceptional, example of a developing country under a political system firmly dominated and controlled by the Head of State. To many people Libya is Muammer Qadhafi.

Of course, Muammer Qadhafi does dominate political thinking in the Libyan Jamahiriya. He led the group which brought the Revolution to Libya, and liberated the oil rich country from the control of Britain and the United States, and the multinational companies exploiting Libya's oil wealth without much benefit to the Libyan people. He has set the style of politics in the country for more than thirteen years, and Libyans are proud of the results. When they are not, criticisms are voiced in a system of democracy, the existence of which Libya's critics prefer to ignore.

The political system itself is due largely to the revolutionary vision of Qadhafi. It is based on the principle that democracy should be firmly based amongst the people of the country, and not in the hands of political professionals, such as the Members of Parliament, Senators and Congressmen in western democracies, or a party elite found in the systems of the communist countries. At the same time, Libya's democracy is a testament to the Jamahiriya's rejection of dictatorship so common in the Arab homeland and the Third World.

In the first part of *The Green Book*, Muammer Qadhafi rejects parliamentary democracy because, he argues, it places all power in the hands of parliamentarians, accountable to the electorate at elections every few years, effectively denying the people any influence or control over the political direction of the society in which they live. Qadhafi set out to create the framework of a system of democracy in which the active participants are the citizens of the country, and political power is decentralised.

The result is the *jamahiri* system of democracy, or the 'era of the masses' as it was proclaimed at a specially convened

**IN JANUARY, the Libyan capital, Tripoli, will be the venue of the General People's Congress. It is not a parliament, nor a legislature in the conventional sense, but it is a forum in which the will of the Libyan people is forged into a unitary policy. Louis Eaks explains how the 'era of the masses' in the Libyan Jamahiriya has made people's power a reality.**

congress in Libya's southern city of Sebha in March 1977.

This new system vested power in the hands of the citizens through Basic People's Congresses, community forums in which every resident in the area is entitled to attend and put forward his or her opinions. The agenda is wide-ranging, covering not only local affairs concerned with the district, municipality or region, but also matters of the country's economic and development policies, and the Jamahiriya's stance on issues of international politics.

Urban centres, the municipalities, may have more than one BPC, depending on the population of the town, and each BPC chooses a secretariat, the size of which depends on the number of BPCs in a municipality, ranging from five members down to two. Each has a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary, responsible to the BPC for the day-to-day administration and implementing the decisions taken at the BPC.

In the towns and cities a Municipal People's Congress provides a system of liaison between the BPCs in the area. This also has a Secretary and Assistant Secretary. Meanwhile, both municipal and basic congresses embrace a number of people's committees, whose members tend to be specialists in their field, to deal with issues such as housing, welfare and health, education, and utilities. All the

committees are answerable to the Basic or Municipal congresses.

Other basic congresses exist in the professions and trade unions, and throughout the system 'officials' — the secretaries, Secretariats and their Assistants, remain firmly accountable to the citizens through the Basic People's Congresses which meet regularly.

From the local and municipal level come the issues to be reviewed by the General People's Congress, at which the Secretary and Assistant Secretary put forward the views reached at their congresses. By their accountability to the local congresses, the views of the citizen are fed directly into the decision reaching process of the General People's Congress.

The current 1981-85 development plan in Libya, for example, was the first to be approved under the new political system, and represented an important landmark in the history of developing nations. It was the first development plan which had been created as a result of public debate and popular decision-making, rather than imposed by central government and 'experts'.

Government in Libya has now given way to a system of secretariats which correspond roughly to the areas of responsibility held by ministries in traditional political systems. But the term Secretariat represents more than simply a new word; the Secretariats are themselves responsible for implementing the policies determined through the BPCs and co-ordinated through the General People's Congress. The Secretary, replacing the old style Minister, remains accountable to the Secretariat's people's committee, chosen by the GPC. Accountability is paramount in the political process of the Jamahiriya.

The Secretaries from the Secretariats, covering responsibilities from foreign affairs, to education and petroleum, form the General Popular Committee, under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General, equivalent in traditional political systems to a government, but still firmly accountable to popular opinion whereas traditional governments are usually accountable to the Prime Minister or President.

The General Secretariat of the General People's Congress, convened by the Secretary-General, provides the final link in the political system, and is responsible for overall administrative liaison. Members of the General Secretariat and the General Popular Committee are ex-officio members of the General People's Congress, and their achievements and failures come under close scrutiny not only at the General People's Congress, but throughout the year at meetings of the basic congresses.

*[Next month Jamahiriya Review will examine the development of democracy in Libya since the 1969 1st September Revolution, and the stages through which it has passed during the past thirteen years.]*

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's commitment to the care and welfare of the handicapped was highlighted in 1977, when Tripoli proposed the designation of 1981 as United Nations International Year of the Disabled. Libya's special concern for the disabled stems from the high proportion of its citizens that suffer handicaps. In part, this is the legacy of Libya's grim recent history as one of the world's poorest lands, ravaged by malnutrition and disease, as a target for European colonialism, and as a major arena for the battles of World War II. A concerted welfare programme for the disabled has been possible only since the advent of oil revenues in the 1960s, while welfare efforts have been given a major boost since the Al Fateh Revolution in 1969, with its stress on the overall expansion of Libya's health and welfare services.

In the years following Libyan nominal independence in 1951, the majority of the population outside the major cities of Tripoli and Benghazi were nomadic bedouins who supplemented their meagre incomes by salvaging scrap metal from the Second World War battlefields. In some years, scrap metal was Libya's single most important export item. Scouring the battlefields, however, was hazardous. The competing European armies had laid, and re-laid, vast minefields during their campaigns, and hundreds of Libyans were killed or maimed when they accidentally detonated the abandoned munitions. The oil industry and the country-wide construction boom that has followed the advent of oil revenues, have offered Libyans more lucrative and safer employment opportunities, but the Second World War explosives continue to kill and maim to this day.

The extent of the problem was underlined at a special conference held in Geneva in March 1981 to discuss the legal and moral responsibilities of the Allied and Axis powers in helping to mitigate the costs to third parties of abandoned war materials. The conference, jointly sponsored by the UN Institute for Training and Research and the Research Department of the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau, heard that there are still mines on twenty per cent of Libyan territory, and on an astonishing 86 per cent of its agricultural land. The total area of minefields in the Jamahiriya was estimated at three times the area of its arable land. 10,000 square kilometres of agricultural land — 27 per cent of the country's total — was reported to be unusable because of the mines. Resultant losses suffered by the agricultural sector since the end of the Second World War were put at \$350 million.

Since 1960, the Geneva conference was told, 1,956 Libyans had died in accidental detonations of mines, and 1,777 had been maimed. Since 1971 about five people had died each year, with a maximum of ten in 1975.

The activities of the European armies in the Second World War, however, were



Pool at new rehabilitation centre in Tripoli: the best of health care for the disabled.

## Caring for the disabled

**THE HIGH proportion of Libyans who suffer disablement stems from the country's grim recent history of poverty and foreign occupation, and their care and rehabilitation is accorded a priority. Dr Alan George reviews the progress that has been achieved in assisting the handicapped to play a full role in society.**

merely the culmination of a long period of interference by foreign powers in Libya. As many as 750,000 were killed in the first half of this century during the long and bitter struggle against the Italian invaders, who arrived in 1911. Thousands were maimed. Hundreds more Libyans were killed or wounded as innocent by-

standers in the savage battles of World War II.

The Second World War liberation struggle against the Italians, and accidental explosions of abandoned munitions have taken a heavy toll. But another large group of disabled were created by the disease and malnutrition that ravaged Libya in the years of independence preceding the oil boom, when there were simply no funds for any but the most basic curative and preventive health services. Polio and tuberculosis were a major problem, and eye infections were particularly widespread. Libya headed the World Health Organisation list of countries affected by malaria.

### Strong feelings

During the monarchy, Libya's handicapped were seen above all as a humanitarian problem. Since the 1969 Revolution, however, they have in addition become potent symbols of the country's former poverty and suffering. To the revolutionary authorities, intent on consoli-



dating Libyan independence, the large numbers of Libyan's maimed in Second World War battles and in the explosion of abandoned European munitions vividly recall a period when the country's status had been relegated to a mere battleground for foreign powers. The depth of feeling on the subject has been evident from the Jamahiriya's persistent efforts to secure reparations from Britain, Italy and Germany for the destruction they wrought on Libyan territory during World War II.

With the development of the oil industry in the 1960s, funds became available for the expansion of health facilities, and the Al Fateh Revolution's firm commitment to social welfare has brought particularly rapid development since 1969. By 1968 there were 41 hospitals in the country, with a total of 5,646 beds. By 1980, the number of hospitals had risen to over fifty, with 14,472 beds. The ratio of beds per thousand population rose from 3.1 in 1968 to 4.5 in 1980. A country-wide system of regional and local clinics has been established, and special emphasis has been given to preventive medicine. Vaccination against a range of illnesses has been made compulsory. Formerly more than 100 people in 10,000 was affected by tuberculosis, but by 1975 the figure had been reduced to six in 10,000. Malaria has been eradicated.

The expansion of medical facilities has been accompanied by an equally impressive increase in the numbers of skilled medical personnel. The ratio of doctors to population rose from 1:5,800 to 1:755 in 1980.

The continued emphasis on the improvement and expansion of the national health service is clear from the Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan, in which \$1.9 billion is allocated to the health sector. The plan provides for the construction of 24 new hospitals, including specialist surgery, tuberculosis and mental hospitals, as well as for the continued expansion of the network of regional and local clinics and medical centres. The number of hospital beds is due to increase to 23,765, with an increase in the ratio of beds per thousand population to 6.0. By 1985 there should be one doctor per 750 Libyan citizens.

Improved health services and public hygiene have brought a dramatic decline in the number of Libyans who are disabled each year, but the legacy of the past weighs heavily. In 1976 there were a recorded 50,920 Libyans suffering physical or mental disablement, in a total population of only 2.5 million. Despite the widespread occurrence of disablement in Libya, it remains a sensitive topic. Families are reluctant to 'admit' the presence of disabled relatives, and official statistics accordingly understate the scale of the problem. One Libyan doctor who specialises in the care of the handicapped estimates that the 1976 figures could be off-target by as much as forty per cent. If so, the actual numbers of disabled Libyans in that year was in



Student nurses in training: better health care for the disabled.

fact about 71,300 — nearly three per cent of the total population.

Initially, and inevitably, since Libya's health care programme started virtually from scratch, the aim was the provision of basic general services, although a centre for the care and rehabilitation of polio victims was established in Tripoli in 1955, and another for the blind in Benghazi in 1960. The first law covering the disabled was issued in 1962, and stressed the need to employ handicapped people. In the same year, benevolent societies for the care of the blind were established in Tripoli and Benghazi.

#### Wide programme

Since the 1969 Revolution, however, greater efforts have been exerted, and there has been a marked trend towards the provision of specialised facilities as part of a wider programme aimed at ensuring a valid role in society for the disabled. In 1970 a special committee was set up to study the whole question of rehabilitation of the handicapped, and in 1972 the Ministry of Health was authorised to undertake a census to enumerate the deaf and dumb, and the same year the Amal (Hope) School for the Deaf and Dumb was established in Tripoli. Also in 1972, Law No 72 was issued, entitling citizens incapacitated through work injuries to long term financial assistance. In 1973 a special rehabilitation department was set up in the Ministry of Health to supervise rehabilitative work at hospitals, to oversee the centres for the disabled and to formulate plans for the development of the country's rehabilitation services.

In 1976 the country's first purpose-built rehabilitation and vocational training centre for the physically handicapped was opened in Tripoli. Built at a cost of \$5.1 million, the centre provides care and training for ninety in-patients and 200 out-patients. Instruction is given in a wide range of skills, including pottery, metal work, carpentry, and radio and television

repairs. A similar centre has been set up at Al Qawarsha in Benghazi, while four workshops for the disabled have been established at Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna and Sebha. In addition, a number of sanatoria for the mentally disabled have been established.

#### Trend

The trend towards specialised care of the handicapped was highlighted last summer by the opening of two ultra-modern rehabilitation centres, one in Tripoli the other in Benghazi. The two centres, of similar design, each cost \$48.8 million to build and equip.

The main contractor was the Swedish firm Skanska Cementgjuteriet, while design was by London's W T Partnership Ltd. The two centres have a range of facilities unrivalled in most industrialised countries. Each has a 100-bed hospital with an operating theatre and X-ray equipment, and each can cater for more than 200 out-patients daily.

The centres have been built complete with staff accommodation, each having 78 staff buildings, ranging from halls of residence, with communal facilities such as dining rooms, to detached three-bedroomed houses. Particular care has been taken to employ traditional Islamic architectural themes.

For disabled people to secure a meaningful role in society nevertheless entails more than the provision of rehabilitation facilities, however advanced. Old attitudes and prejudices against the handicapped die hard, in Libya as elsewhere, and must be broken down if the disabled are to gain self-respect. Encouraging evidence that the Jamahiriya is aware of the problems, and is responding with practical measures, came in September 1981, when Benghazi became the venue for the country's first ever sports competition for the handicapped.

IN RECENT weeks Mr Adem Kuwiri, Secretary of the People's Committee at the Libyan People's Bureau in London, has been visiting British firms engaged in the Jamahiriya's development programme, as a token of Libya's determination to improve both trade and wider links with the British people. In October Mr Kuwiri paid a visit to the Reading headquarters of the consulting engineers Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners. Shortly after, in November, the People's Bureau Secretary headed a delegation that toured the Sunderland factory of Coles Cranes, Europe's leading manufacturers of mobile cranes. The Libyan team, which included Commercial Attaché Mr Aboshnief Elkezza and Press Attaché Mr Naji Ibrahim Ali Abu Zaraiba, also visited Durham University's Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies.

Last year, British firms exported goods worth over £500 million to the Jamahiriya, but Tripoli would welcome a continued expansion of trade ties. Libya is aware, though, of its often negative coverage in the western media, and is concerned that this might hinder the development of closer economic and wider links with Britain. At a time of some financial caution in Tripoli, related to the world oil glut, Libya is also anxious to underline its continuing commitment to firms with a long-standing involvement in the Jamahiriya's development programme.

At the Reading offices of Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners, Mr Kuwiri reviewed the firm's contributions to the Jamahiriya's development programme, and in particular its involvement in expansion work at the new Tripoli international airport and the new port at Zuwara, west of Tripoli. Work on the \$230 million Tripoli airport scheme was started in 1967, and has been on-going ever since. Sir Alexander Gibb was responsible initially for preparing traffic forecasts and an overall development master plan. Since 1972 the firm has undertaken detailed design work on the ultra-modern airport, and supervised its construction. Building work started on the main 3,600 metre runway in 1973, and at the same time construction began on the striking new passenger terminals, whose designs employ traditional Islamic architectural themes. The first stage of the airport was formally opened in 1978.

#### Expansion

In October it was disclosed that a major new expansion of Tripoli international airport will go to tender early in the new year. The project will include a further airport terminal and pavement work, and will meet traffic demand until the end of the century. Sir Alexander Gibb will again be responsible for design and construction supervision.

There are hopes of British involvement in another expansion project at the airport, involving the construction of new aircraft hangars and engineering and administrative buildings. The British firm Fair-

## New moves to strengthen Anglo-Libyan ties

**TO UNDERLINE the Libyan Jamahiriya's determination to consolidate trade and wider political links with Britain, Mr Adem Kuwiri, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in London has embarked on a series of visits to British firms involved in Libya's development programme. Dr Alan George reviews recent visits by Mr Kuwiri to Coles Cranes and Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners.**

clough International emerged as low bidder for the contract when tenders closed in September 1981.

At Zuwara, 120 kilometres west of Tripoli, Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners is responsible for preparing a master plan for a major new port, and will also undertake construction supervision. The first stage of construction consists of dredging, reclamation and the construction of breakwaters. 3,700 metres of quay will be built to provide 18 berths. In addition, there will be an oil products jetty, roads, administrative buildings, workshops and storage sheds, and port services, including a lighthouse.

The Zuwara port is a key project in the Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan. It will serve the overall needs of the western part of the country, while the industrial section of the port will handle the imports and exports for a planned aluminium smelter to be located at Zuwara. It will also handle cargoes for the major chemicals complex that opened in 1980 at Abu Kammash, forty kilometres west of Zuwara. Construction of the new port is expected to start in 1983.

#### Satisfaction

Mr Kuwiri and his delegation were welcomed to Coles Cranes' Crown Works in Sunderland by Managing Director Mr David Steel, who emphasised the com-

pany's satisfaction with its Libyan links. The Jamahiriya, he noted, had become the firm's single most important export market, and last year Coles supplied seventy per cent of the country's overall imports of mobile cranes and other lifting equipment. In 1981 Coles shipped to Libya machinery and spare parts worth over £10 million.

Coles consider that one reason for their success in the Jamahiriya has been the firm's emphasis on back-up services and training. Libya's 1981-85 development plan explicitly calls for greater attention to be given to the acquisition by Libyans of the skills needed to run a modern economy. Coles Cranes have helped set up service centres for their equipment in Tripoli and Benghazi, and organise regular training programmes, both on site in Libya and in Sunderland at their international training school, to enable Libyan mechanics to maintain the firm's equipment. At present, an eight-man team of Coles engineers are giving on the spot training in the Jamahiriya.

This emphasis on the importance of training had also been apparent during Mr Kuwiri's tour of Sir Alexander Gibb's offices, where he met with four Libyan graduate engineers undergoing further studies 'on the job'.

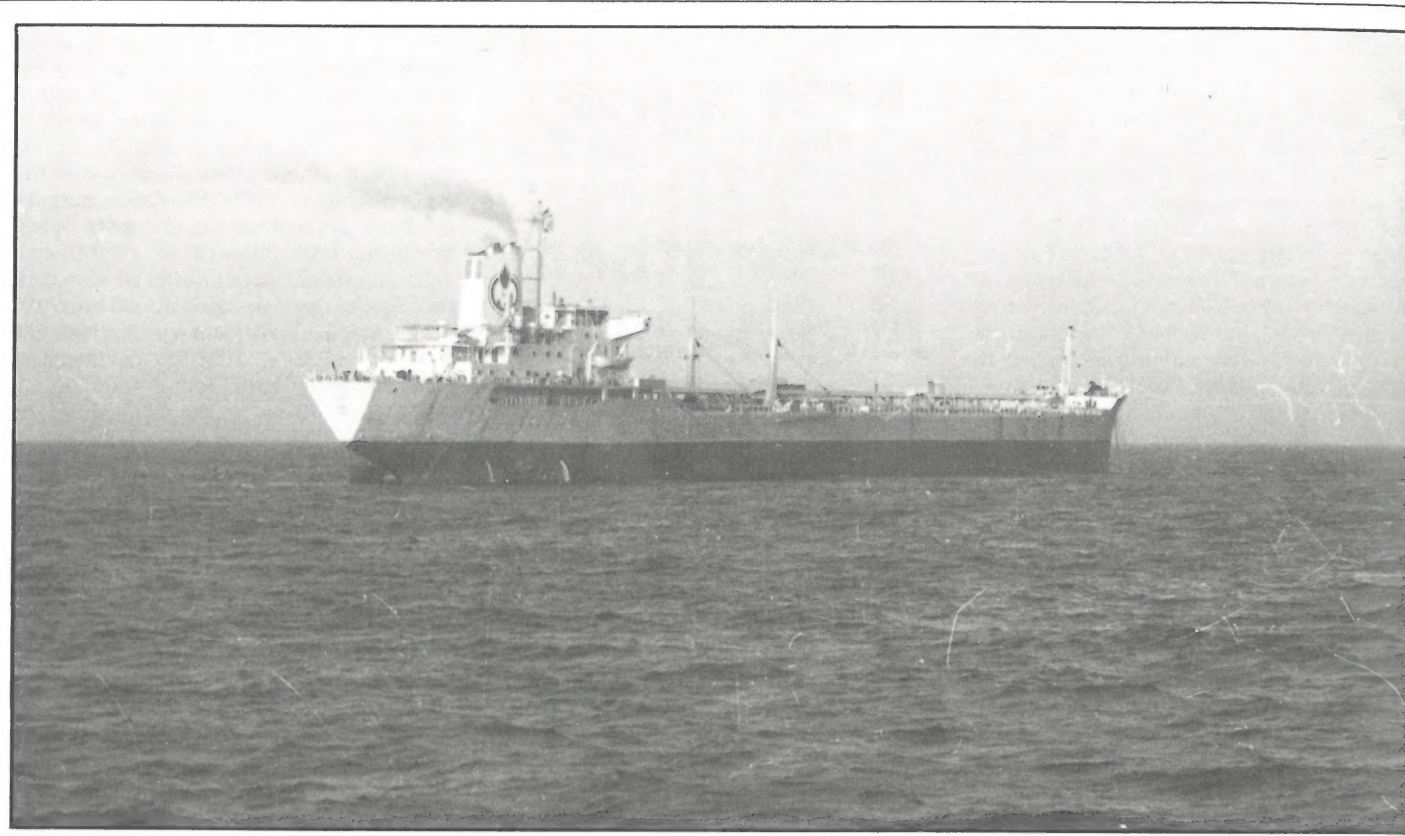
Addressing the local press during his visit to Coles Cranes, Mr Kuwiri stressed that 'Libya welcomes British companies to play a full and active role in our country's \$62.5 billion development programme'. Pointing to the mutual benefits that trade can bring, he added: 'Trade between Britain and Libya offers a firm base on which friendly relations between the two countries can advance and flourish. It is to the obvious benefit of both the Libyan and the British people. For Libya, it means progress and the development of our country to create a modern industrialised state with a full and comprehensive range of welfare services, and for Britain it means jobs for British workers.'

#### Active

Stressing that the desire for British companies to play a more active role in the Jamahiriya's development programme came from 'the highest levels in Libya', Mr Kuwiri said that his programme of visits to British firms was designed to encourage a 'continuing relationship and dialogue between the Libyan Bureau in London and UK companies involved in Libya, to avoid any problems or misunderstandings'.

Expressing his satisfaction at the development of relations between Britain and Libya, Mr Kuwiri noted that in recent weeks Libya had hosted a parliamentary delegation from Westminster, a separate delegation from the Foreign Office, and a British team that participated in the Tripoli Equestrian Championships (see report, page 13). Such visits, and the growth of British-Libyan trade, 'shows that relations between Britain and Libya are moving in the right direction,' he declared.





## Italy ranks as top trading partner

FOLLOWING THE imposition of the Reagan administration of a trade boycott on Libya in March, Italy has become the most important destination for the Jamahiriya's exports, according to figures relating to the first half of 1982, published in *Middle East Economic Digest* on 29th October. Italian imports from Libya in the first half of the year totalled \$936 million. In the same period, US imports from the Jamahiriya fell to about \$493 million, from the more than \$1.1 billion in the same period of 1981.

Italy is also Libya's most important supplier, accounting for about 30 per cent of the Jamahiriya's total imports, and shipping goods worth \$1.1 billion in the January-June 1982 period. Major Italian exports to Libya are construction machinery, fodder, clothing, domestic electrical goods, furniture, vehicles, medicines and fertiliser.

Italian trade with the Jamahiriya has risen sharply in recent years. In 1981, for example, Rome's imports from Libya increased by 44 per cent to \$2.1 billion, while exports soared by 169 per cent to \$3.5 billion. Italy's success in trading with Tripoli represents a serious snub for Washington, which had vainly tried to pressure Italy and other European countries into joining Reagan's economic blackmail of the Jamahiriya.

*General National Maritime Transport Company has been expanded to carry sixty per cent of Libyan imports.*

## Expanded role for Libyan fleet

IN A move to expand the area of Libyan control over the economy, the Jamahiriya has announced that as of 1st December all cargoes bound for Libya by sea must be carried in vessels of the publicly-owned shipping line, the General National Maritime Transport Company (GNMTC).

The new regulation, promulgated in an Economy and Light Industry Secretariat Law of 25th August 1981 was heralded in the 1981-85 development plan, which calls for 60 per cent of the Jamahiriya's imports to be carried in Libyan-owned vessels by 1985.

Implementation of the 1981 law was delayed pending an expansion of GNMTC's fleet to a point where it could cope with a significant proportion of total traffic. Recently the line has taken delivery of a number of new general cargo vessels, and it now boasts eleven ships.

Another factor in the timing of the new regulation was the impact on GNMTC of increased competition amongst operators of routes to Libya in a year when the total cargo tonnage shipped to the Jamahiriya has been significantly lower than in the past. On UK routes, for example, rates had fallen to an average of £28 per cubic metre from an average of £35 in 1981. To attract cargoes, GNMTC had to charge at uneconomic levels, but even then

found itself undercut by larger operators.

The new regulation does not, however, spell disaster for foreign lines currently operating Libyan services. The GNMTC fleet is still small, and to meet demand the company will very likely grant waivers to foreign lines. There is also the prospect of joint operations of routes with foreign carriers, and talks on such a venture are reportedly under way with Newcastle-based Gracechurch Line, which provides regular services to the Jamahiriya. To meet shortfalls in its capacity, GNMTC will also increase charterings of foreign-owned vessels.

British and European agents for GNMTC are holding a series of meetings to discuss the implications of the new regulation, and to decide comprehensive new arrangements for routes to Libya. Final recommendations should be presented to the Jamahiriya early in the new year, and a continuing role for foreign firms, albeit under GNMTC control, is a key area under scrutiny.

A new GNMTC tariff is another major topic of the discussions. The line's UK agent, Aquitaine Maritime Agencies, is on record as hoping for Libyan approval of a new tariff structure, based on a rate of £35-40 per cubic metre — higher than the discounted prices, but lower than the current official rates.

## \$520 million power plant for Misrata steel works

THE LARGEST Libyan contract for several months was awarded on 30th October, when South Korea's Hyundai Engineering & Contracting Company signed a \$520 million contract to build a 480 MW power station and desalination plant at the integrated iron and steel works under construction at the coastal town of Misrata, east of Tripoli.

The power station will have six turbines, each of 80 MW capacity, while the desalination plant will have three units, each with a daily capacity of 10,500 cubic metres, giving a total capacity of 31,500 cubic metres per day. The plant will have eight 10,000 cubic metre storage tanks.

Japan's Fuji Electric Corporation will supply the turbine generators for the power plant, and Britain's Northern Engineering Industries — International Combustion — the boilers. Hyundai Heavy Industries will provide some of the mechanical equipment.

Consultant for the scheme is a joint venture of Britain's Ewbank & Partners and France's Société Générale pour l'Industrie, and client is the Jamahiriya's General Corporation for Iron & Steel Projects. The scheme is due for completion in three years.

The contract also provides for the training of Libyan personnel, for assistance in operating the

power and water plants for the first year after start-up, and for technical back-up services during the first three years of operations.

The Misrata steel plant is the largest single project in the Libyan Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan. The \$3.3 billion first phase, for completion by 1985, provides for an annual capacity of 1.2 million tonnes. A second stage, for completion by 1995, will increase capacity to five million tonnes, while a third stage will give a seven million tonnes capacity by the year 2005. Most of the major construction contracts were awarded last year.

## Oil products storage scheme

BRITAIN'S MOTHERWELL Bridge Engineering has won a \$10 million contract to build storage tanks for a petroleum products marketing terminal at the coastal town of Misrata. The order was placed by South Korea's Samsung Construction Company, the main contractor for the \$71 million terminal project, for which the client is the Jamahiriya's Brega Petroleum Marketing Company.

Motherwell recently completed delivery of the equipment from its Scottish works. The civil works sub contractor, in which the Scottish company has a major share, is Milan-based Sicula Metana, which will complete construction at the Misrata site by the middle of 1983.

Work entails erecting fourteen tanks with a total storage capacity of more than 2.5 million barrels of oil, and five spherical pressure tanks for storing liquified petroleum gas (LPG).

## Housing plans advance

STATISTICS JUST released by the Jamahiriya's Housing Secretariat show that housebuilding plans are well on target. Of 21,688 housing units for which contracts were signed early in 1981, 2,023 are now in their final stages of construction, while four new neighbourhoods, each of 250 units, have been built at Kebeiroun, one of 700 units has been completed in Zintan, and one of 1,129 units at Ras Lanouf. In addition, construction has been completed of 131 public buildings, 2,608 classrooms in new schools, 53 headquarters of Basic People's Congresses and 15 new municipal administration buildings.

The Jamahiriya's \$62.5 billion

1981-85 development plan calls for the construction of 146,200 housing units, and for the completion of 59,952 that were under way at the start of the plan. The housing sector allocation totals LD 1.7 billion, accounting for ten per cent of total plan expenditure.

## Agreement on electricity grid

ONE OF the key projects in the Jamahiriya's 1981-85 development plan came a step closer to implementation in October with an undertaking by the Soviet Union to help Libya establish a country-wide electricity distribution grid, under an agreement reached at a meeting of the joint Libyan-Soviet Committee for Economic, Scientific, Commercial and Technical Co-operation. The two sides also agreed to formulate a plan to extend high voltage lines, and to co-operate on a training programme for Libyan electricity workers. The Moscow meeting was attended by the Jamahiriya's Electricity Secretary, Mr Jum'ah al Arbush, and Mr Vladimir Mordvinov, Vice Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

The \$62.5 billion 1981-85 development plan calls for the establishment of a country-wide electricity grid by linking the existing independent grids in the regions of Tripoli, Benghazi, Sebha, Kufra and Sarir. The plan allocates \$6.6 billion to the electricity sector as a whole, and calls for an increase in the country's generating capacity from 4,800 MW in 1980 to 9,400 MW in 1985.

## Leisure emphasis on Benghazi development

SOUTH KOREA'S Hanyang Corporation has emerged as the lowest bidder for the \$844 million first stage of a major urban development scheme in Benghazi. The project entails the construction of a twenty-storey city hotel, with 400 rooms giving 181,000 square metres of floor space; a ten-storey resort hotel, with 540 rooms giving 216,000 square metres; an eight-storey department store with a cinema; a four-storey harbour-side clubhouse; seven recreation buildings; and offices and restaurants. The development is scheduled for a site along Benghazi's east coast. Companies will be invited to

bid for the second and third stages of the scheme after the award of the first stage contract. The second stage, to cost an estimated \$300 million, includes 1,500 homes in high-rise apartment blocks, and the third stage, also valued at \$300 million, will include low-rise dwellings.

Designs for the ambitious 110 hectare scheme were drawn up by a Japanese joint venture of Yachiyo Engineering Company and Kisho Kurokawa Architects & Associates. The client is the Jamahiriya's National Real Estate Investment Company.

## Mobile labs for delivery in 1983

THE BRITISH firm of Isoflow has won a \$1.3 million contract for the supply and installation of twenty fully-equipped mobile laboratories, each for use by up to 25 technicians. The laboratories, to be delivered in March 1983, will be stationed at hospitals and clinics near Tripoli and Benghazi.

## Tarhuna scheme on schedule

MORE THAN fifty-five per cent of work at the 35,000 hectare Tarhuna agricultural scheme near Tripoli has been completed, the Jamahiriya news agency JANA announced on 15th November. The project, an integrated scheme for cattle rearing and grain and fruit production, was started in 1978, and so far 600 kilometres of terraces and 460 kilometres of paved roads have been built. An initial area of 6,500 hectares has already been planted.

JANA also reported good progress at other Libyan agricultural schemes. Work on the Weshtata project, which started in 1977,

is now in its final stages. An estimated 4,000 hectares has so far been reclaimed, and this season 2,500 hectares will be planted to barley and 500 hectares to wheat.

At the 100,000 hectares Addawawin scheme, JANA reports that construction of five major water reservoirs has been completed and that 750,000 trees were planted during the past season, with 400,000 more to be planted in the coming months.

The encouraging progress of the Jamahiriya's agricultural development programme was also reflected in figures just released by the Secretariat for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, showing production totals for the 1981-82 season (see box). The 1981-85 development plan calls for special emphasis on production of poultry and dairy produce to meet rising demands for high protein foods, and highlights of the figures were that 1.3 million chickens, 8 million chicks, more than 80 million eggs and over 17 million litres of milk were produced in 1981-82.

One of the projects that will have major implications for the Jamahiriya's agricultural development is a planned \$5 billion aqueduct to bring water north from the Sarir region, deep in the desert south of Benghazi, for agricultural, industrial and domestic use in the coastal zone. In October it was revealed that the Japanese firm of Kubota is investigating the possibility of supplying equipment for the scheme. The company is reportedly not considering supplying the main sections of four metre diameter concrete and steel pipe, but hopes to provide smaller feed pipe and pumps. The main consultant for the aqueduct scheme is the US firm Brown & Root.

The Jamahiriya's 1981-85 plan allocates LD 3.1 billion to agriculture, accounting for 18.2 per cent of total plan investments. Only the industrial sector, with an allocation of LD 3.9 billion, has a higher priority.

### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION 1981-82

Wheat .....	115,455 tonnes
Barley .....	45,032 tonnes
Oats .....	59,234 tonnes
Kartal oats .....	80,874 bales
Animal fodder .....	516,145 bales
Sheep .....	19,699
Camels .....	80
Cattle .....	3,952
Chickens .....	1,316,851
Turkeys .....	11,988
Eggs .....	80,495,049
Milk .....	17,212,219
Wool .....	64,204 kilogrammes
Olive oil .....	348,724 kilogrammes

Source: Secretariat for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation, Tripoli



# THE GREEN BOOK

BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

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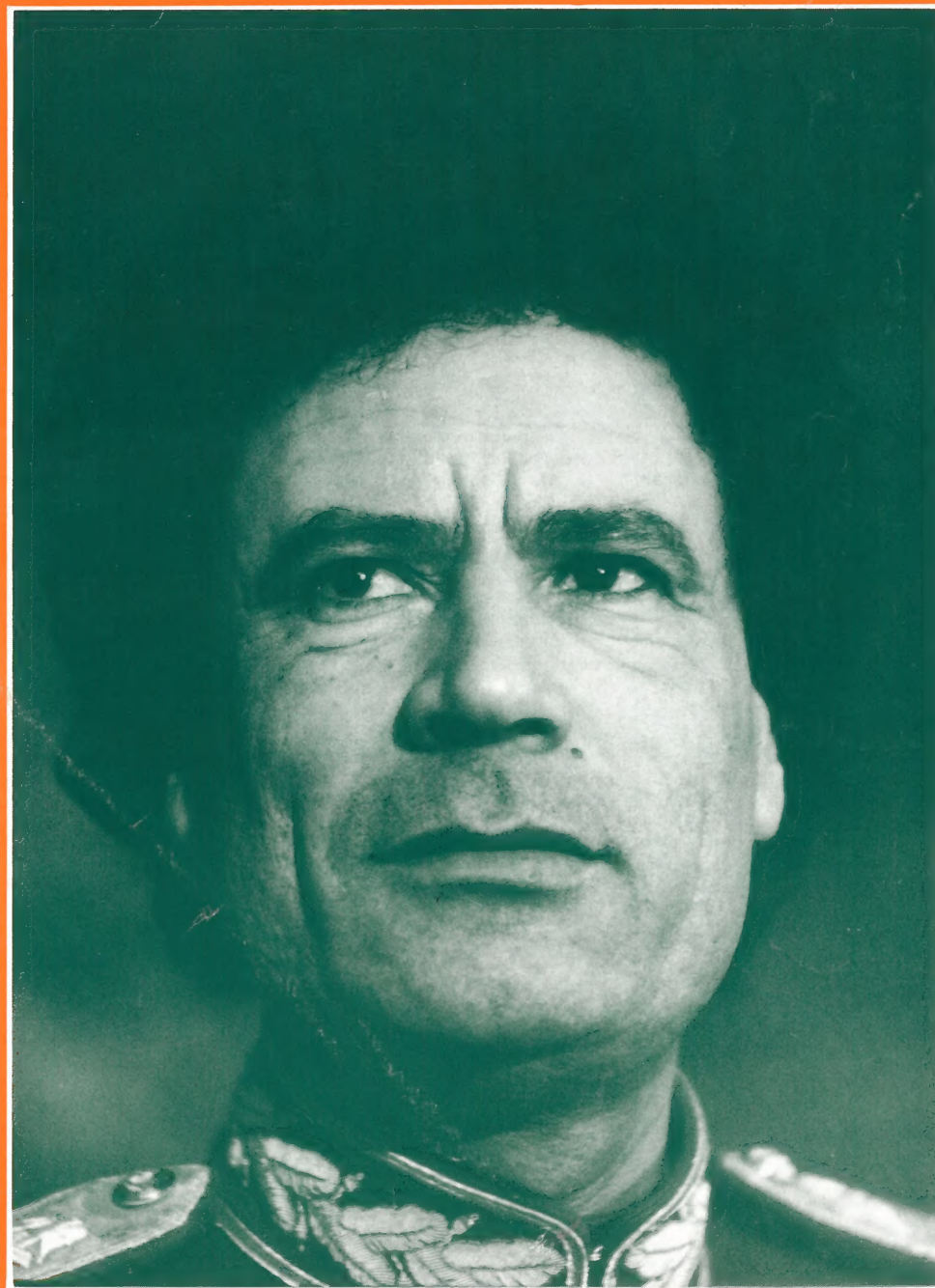
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Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information  
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# jamahiriya review

January 1983



The road to  
democracy in  
the Jamahiriya

Libya's equestrian traditions  
have a bright future